

Theory and Research in Mass Communication

By Jennings Bryant and Dorina Miron

Writing about the state of the art of mass communication theory and research evokes vivid images of those unfortunate on-site reporters for The Weather Channel who get stuck doing stand-up live shots *right after* the hurricane has subsided, or the snow has stopped, or the funnel cloud has disappeared, which, of course, always happens the very moment the director switches to the remote feed. What habitually results is beleaguered and bedraggled reporters who look and sound like blithering idiots trying to describe and explain something that no longer exists. Like volatile stormy weather, at some level changes in mass communication theory and research occur almost too rapidly and unpredictably for even the best-intentioned reporters to chronicle and explain accurately.

Some very good reasons for these challenges to precise descriptions and explanations of mass communication exist, and many of them are tied to changes in the media that contribute content and context to the processes, effects, systems, and institutions we study: For example, (a) all of the media of mass communication are undergoing dramatic changes in form, content, and substance (e.g., Levins, 1997), which are explained only partially by the notion of convergence; (b) newer forms of interactive media, such as the Internet, are altering the traditional mass communication model from that of communication of one-to-many to communication of many-to-many (Li, 1998); (c) media ownership patterns are shifting dramatically and sometimes ruthlessly in ways that tend to disregard the entertainment, informational, educational, political, and social needs of consumers and that potentially cause major problems for their host societies (e.g., McChesney, 2004); (d) the viewing patterns and habits of audiences worldwide are changing so rapidly as to be almost mercurial (e.g., consider the transition from children's bedrooms to children's media rooms; Rideout, Foehr, Roberts, & Brodie, 1999); (e) the very nature of the primary unit in which most media consumption takes place—the family—is undergoing remarkable changes in its own right that mark-

Jennings Bryant (PhD, Indiana University) is a distinguished research professor in the College of Communication & Information Sciences, University of Alabama, where he holds the Reagan chair of broadcasting and is a senior research scientist in the Institute for Communication and Information Research. Dorina Miron (PhD, University of Alabama) is a senior research fellow with the Institute.

Copyright © 2004 International Communication Association

edly affect our uses of media and their impacts on our psychological and cultural well-being (e.g., Bryant & Bryant, 2001); moreover, (f) even in stable, more traditional, home environments, with most of today's youth "Growing up Wired" (Plotnikoff, 2003), interactive media are "Redefining Life at Home" (Diaz & Aratani, 2003).

Challenges to veridical description and meaningful interpretation come from other sources also. For example, the pluralistic nature of our epistemologies and methodologies contributes to "information overload" when we attempt to master the massive body of knowledge accumulating from mass communication scholarship, and our often ill-conceived and ill-defined minitheories continue to challenge the quality of our science and the potential of our understanding. Moreover, the proliferation of scholarly sources in the mass communication field (e.g., new theoretically oriented journals like *Mass Communication & Society* and *Media Psychology*) adds to the information explosion that routinely abbreviates the useful half-life of knowledge throughout the discipline.

In an attempt to accommodate what appear to be the shifting sands of mass communication scholarship, we will begin with a cinematic long shot of mass communication theory and research, and we will focus on what historically has seemed to be the most stable element of mass communication research—mass communication theory. Specifically, we conducted a systematic content analysis designed to examine the evolution of mass communication theory in the latter half of the 20th century, as presented in the three oldest mainstream serial repositories of mass communication research in our discipline. After we present the resulting normative data and discuss the findings from this content analysis, we will turn to a brief examination of mass communication theory during the dawning of the 21st century.

A Profile of Mass Communication Theory During 1956–2000

Overview of the Study

The purpose of this investigation was to systematically assess mass communication¹ theory over time. To accomplish this, we analyzed the treatment of epistemology and theories in a probability sample of articles from three stalwart journals that have reported mass communication research for roughly half a century at least—*Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly (JMCQ)*, *Journal of Communication (JOC)*, and *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media (JOBEM)*. The time period covered was from 1956 (the year the youngest of the triumvirate, *JOBEM*, was first published) through 2000. All three journals are published quarterly. Following a random-selection procedure, we picked one issue per year for analysis; that is, we analyzed 45 issues of each journal, or roughly one quarter of their content during this period.

¹ Included as *mass communication* was any scholarship that examined processes, effects, production, distribution, or consumption of media messages (e.g., Black, Bryant, & Thompson, 1998).

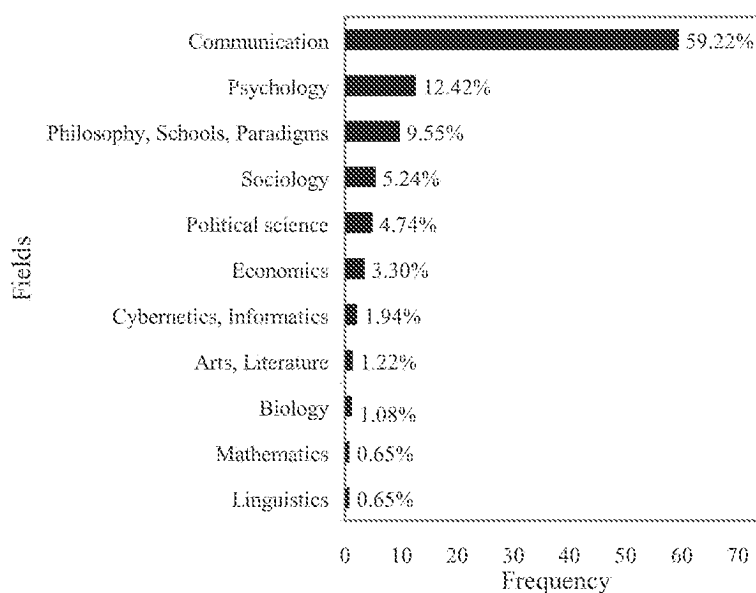


Figure 1. Distribution of references to theories and scientific paradigms in various fields.

The goals of our content analysis were (a) to identify theories (including models), broad paradigms of scientific investigation and theorizing, and schools of thought that created such paradigms; (b) to locate them in the scientific fields and subfields (areas) that generated them; and (c) to determine what the cited theories were used for in the studies in which we found them. We also analyzed for several other features that will not be reported in this article.

Five doctoral students performed the content analysis. We used percentage of agreement (Stempel, 1989) for intracoder and intercoder reliability. We double-coded 109 articles (6.04% of the sample), a process that involved 16,241 coding decisions (149 per article). Intracoder reliability (rate of matching decisions) was 96.13%. Intercoder reliability was 94.19%.

Overall Findings

We analyzed 1,806 articles (*JMCQ* = 964, *JOC* = 498, *JOBEM* = 344) and found 576 mass communication articles (31.89%) that included some theory. In all, 1,393 references were made to 604 different theories, general scientific paradigms, and schools of thought that have been developed by communication scholars or imported from scholars in various cognate disciplines in the service of exploring mass communication phenomena. For each article, we computed the number of different theories cited, counting each theory only once, irrespective of the number of times that theory was mentioned. The average number of references to different theories per article that included theory was 2.42. This mean score was elevated because 76 articles included references to 5 or more theories, and 5 articles cited between 10 and 15 theories, scientific paradigms, or schools of thought.

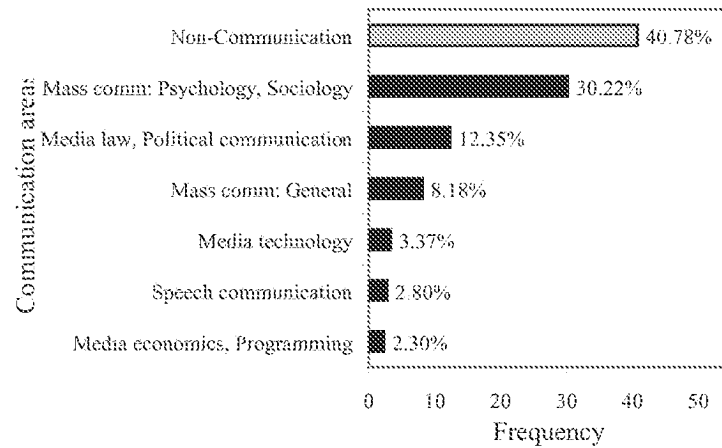


Figure 2. Distribution of references to theories and scientific paradigms in various communication areas.

After examining the literature sufficiently to determine major classifications, we sorted the references we found by their discipline of origin. Obviously this simple statement masks the fact that a great deal of intellectual-history research was involved in achieving this initial coding. Figure 1 presents the distribution of the 1,393 references to theories by field of origin and includes the references we found to schools of thoughts and scientific paradigms. As can be seen from examining this figure, 59.22% of the references to theories ($n = 825$) originated from within communication. The next largest group included references to theories originating from psychology (12.42% of all references), followed by a group of general scientific paradigms and school of thought, which were all transdisciplinary (9.55%). The next most common originating disciplines for the theories we found cited were sociology (5.24%) and political science (4.74%). The only other disciplines contributing more than 1% to our pool of 1,393 references to theories were economics (3.30%), cybernetics/informatics (1.94%), and biology (1.08%).

Next we further examined those 59.22% of the references to theories that originated from within the communication discipline. After considerable research and deliberation, we divided the field of communication into six areas. First, we retained the traditional distinction between *speech* (or *communication studies*) and *general mass communication*. In addition, we considered four major specialty areas within mass communication: theories that addressed psychological or sociological aspects of communication (commonly known in contemporary parlance as *media psychology* or *media sociology*), theories that explored legal and political issues in *media law and politics*, *media economics and programming* theories, and theories about *media technologies*. Figure 2 shows the distribution of references to theories among the various areas of communication science compared with their presence in noncommunication fields (40.78%). As can readily be seen, a sizable portion of the communication theories utilized in mass communication

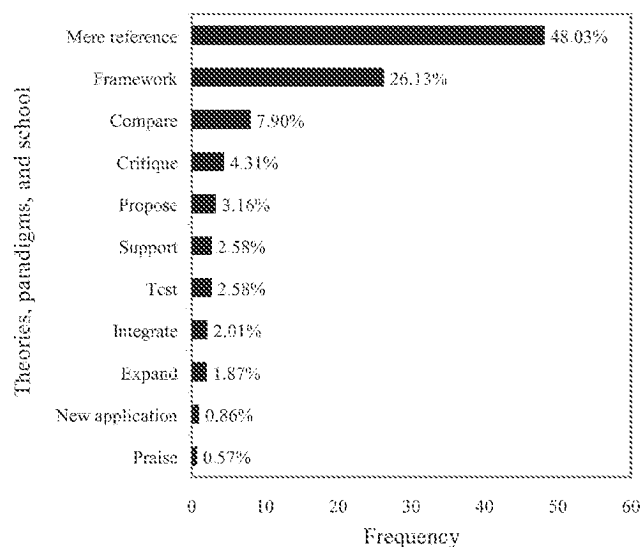


Figure 3. Uses of references to theories, scientific paradigms, and schools of thought.

research are derived from media psychology or sociology (30.22%), with additional major contributions from media law and politics (12.35%) and general mass communication (8.18%; e.g., bullet theory). At present, media economics and programming, media technology, and speech communication have made relatively modest contributions to theoretical dimensions of mass communication. It should also be noted that all four schools of thought cited in the three communication journals were classified as noncommunication because their scope was broader, including social and political phenomena.

As can be seen from Figure 3, almost half of the citations of theories, paradigms, and schools of thought utilized by authors of mass communication research were mere references (48.03%); additionally, more than a quarter (26.13%) simply provided a theoretical framework for the study. Among the other uses of theory, comparison of two or more theories (7.90% of all references) and critique of a theory or of theories (4.31%) were the most popular. Unfortunately, those aspects typically considered to be the primary components of theory construction per se, such as proposing a theory (3.16% of all references), testing a new theory (2.58%), integrating theories (2.01%), expanding a theory (1.87%), and the like are relatively infrequently found in mass communication research.

Findings About Schools of Thought

The primary schools of thought cited in the three communication journals we analyzed were British Cultural Studies, the Chicago School of sociological studies, the Frankfurt School of critical theory, and the Vienna Circle that promoted logical positivism. Prior to presenting normative data on the use of such es-

entially epistemological and metatheoretical traditions, we will provide a brief discussion of each.

The Chicago School. In 1892, the fledgling University of Chicago launched the first department of sociology in the United States, headed by Albion W. Small, who recruited innovative and productive faculty (e.g., William I. Thomas, Robert E. Park, Ernest Burgess) that transformed European and American doctrines of social philosophy into a new field of social investigation. Two components of that program—pragmatism and humanism—contributed to mass communication theory and research.

The Chicago School of *pragmatism* was founded by John Dewey during his 10 years at the University of Chicago (1894–1904). The original group included his friends, colleagues, and graduates: George H. Mead, James H. Tufts, James R. Angell, Edward Scribner Ames, and Addison W. Moore. After Dewey left for Columbia in 1904, the Chicago School continued its activity under the chairmanship of James Tufts.

Dewey was an evolutionist (Dewey, 1910) and an empiricist (Dewey, 1925), as he placed truth in rebus. His empiricism was individualistic (Dewey, 1930) and phenomenistic (Dewey, 1922). The movement he established (Dewey et al., 1917; Moore, 1910, 1917) was similar to the simultaneous movement in favor of pragmatism that was initiated independently at Oxford by F. C. S. Schiller and H. C. Sturt.

The Chicago pragmatists contested idealism and metaphysics. Dewey viewed biology and psychology as continuous. He posited that the environment and organisms interact and develop continually. Thought is incidental to change in experience, to conflict between the old and new (Dewey, 1909, 1938b). Truth is in process of formation as the organisms enlarge their experience. Consciousness is a readjustment function, and logical theory is an account of the judging process. The indetermination of individual truths (personal beliefs) is overcome through social negotiation of meanings.

Mead's (Mead & Morris, 1934, 1938) theory of the emergence of mind and self out of the social process of significant communication became the foundation of the symbolic interactionist school, which has contributed mightily to all of the social sciences.

The second formidable legacy of the Chicago School that contributed significantly to communication research was *humanism*, which grew in large part out of American journalism's emphasis on social reform. In fact, the School's emphasis on observation may have derived in large part from its background in journalism. Robert E. Park had been a muckraking journalist in Detroit, and later he was a ghostwriter for and confidant of Black educator and reformer Booker T. Washington. Park turned his reformist attention to urban life with publication of "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment" (Park, 1915). This article was a blend of the best of social reformism, journalistic inquiry, grassroots communitarianism, and the new research tools of social investigation.

The most prominent pragmatist at Chicago in later years, Morris, advanced semiotics (Morris, 1938, 1946) and his own "neo-pragmatism," which sought co-

hesion with logical empiricism (Morris, 1937). He was closely involved with the Vienna Circle of logical positivism in the 1930s and participated in the Unity of Science Movement. His relationships with its German philosophers were essential to bringing many of them to America upon the outbreak of World War II.

The Vienna Circle (Der Wiener Kreis): Logical positivism. The Vienna Circle was a group of philosophers, scientists, and mathematicians formed around Moritz Schlick (epistemologist and philosopher of science), who started teaching at the University of Vienna in 1922. The Circle was primarily concerned with the logical analysis of scientific knowledge. Its meetings on epistemology and the philosophy of science began as early as 1907. The Circle's members (Gustav Bergmann, Philipp Frank, Rudolf Carnap, Kurt Godel, Friedrich Waismann, Otto Neurath, Herbert Feigl, and Victor Kraft) organized a philosophical association, named Verein Ernst Mach (Ernst Mach Association).

The Vienna Circle attracted other prominent philosophers and scientists like Karl R. Popper and Ludwig Wittgenstein. The latter's *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (Wittgenstein, 1922), which proposed that a philosopher's task was to present the logic of language, provided a cornerstone for the logical positivism (also known as logical empiricism) promoted by the Vienna Circle. The positivists claimed that knowledge can have only two sources, logical reasoning and empirical experience, and the latter is the only validation for scientific theories (Hahn, Neurath, & Carnap, 1929).

The Vienna Circle dispersed after the Nazis invaded Austria in 1938. Many of its members emigrated to the United States, where they taught at various universities and influenced American thought. Until the 1950s, logical positivism was the leading philosophy of science. Its influence persists in the attention given to the analysis of scientific thought and formal logic.

The Frankfurt School. The Frankfurt School of philosophical thought started at the Institut für Sozialforschung (Institute of Social Research) at the University of Frankfurt in Germany. Felix Weil established the Institute in 1923, along with his fellow students Max Horkheimer and Friedrich Pollock. Carl Grünberg, who was the director of the Institute during 1923–1929, made Marxism the theoretical basis of the Institute's program. The Frankfurt scholars introduced the notion of social philosophy and broadened the scope of Marxist ideology to correct its dogmatism. They addressed the interaction between people and institutions and preserved in philosophy the analysis of society in terms of its economic, political, and social systems.

Horkheimer became director of the Institute in 1931 and remained its guiding force into the 1950s. He emphasized interdisciplinarity and focused the Institute's agenda on the relationship between philosophy and science. Theodor Adorno (philosopher, sociologist, and musicologist) was attached to the Institute in the late 1920s, joining officially only in 1938 and becoming codirector in 1955. Herbert Marcuse joined in 1932. Erich Fromm, Karl Landauer (director of the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute), Otto Kirchheimer, and Paul Lazarsfeld, among many others, were affiliated with the Institute in the 1930s.

The Institute for Social Research fled Germany with Hitler's rise to power in 1933 and worked for a time from offices in Geneva, London, and Paris. In 1936

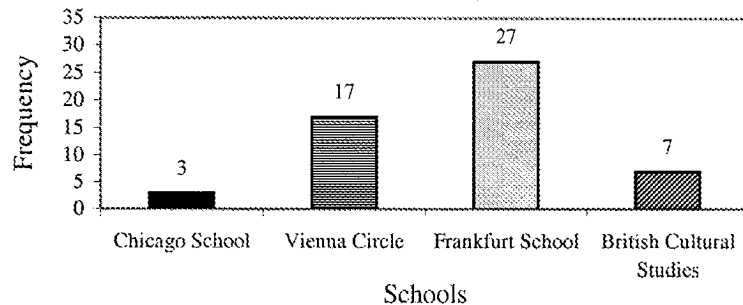


Figure 4. Distribution of references to schools of thought.

the Institute found a new home at Columbia University in New York, where it also had links to Lazarsfeld's Radio Research Project at Princeton. In the early 1940s, Horkheimer and Adorno moved to Los Angeles. In California, the Frankfurt Scholars conducted research on prejudice (cosponsored by the American Jewish Committee) in collaboration with the Berkeley Public Opinion Study Group. Their findings were published as a series of *Studies in Prejudice*, with Max Horkheimer and Samuel H. Flowerman as general editors.

The Frankfurt School is famous for developing the method of analysis called *critical theory*, which seeks to uncover the underlying power relations within cultural phenomena (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1944). The "cultural Marxists" of the Frankfurt School (e.g., Herbert Marcuse, Eric Fromm, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer) inspired the elite Boomers' countercultural revolution in the mid 1960s. Marcuse (1941, 1969a) was one of the most prominent Frankfurt School promoters of the cultural revolution among college and university students in the 1960s, which pursued a diffuse and dispersed disintegration of the existing social system. Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1948–1999, 1949a, 1949b) had developed the notion of a "quiet" revolution that could be diffused throughout a culture over a period of time to destroy it from within. The purpose of the cultural revolution was to defeat the cultural hegemony—another concept that the Frankfurt scholars borrowed from Gramsci, meaning ideological control of the dominating class over the entire society using cultural means. A major component of the cultural revolution was a basic tenet of critical theory regarding the necessity to break down the contemporary family and parental authority in order to facilitate social change. This accounts for the elite Boomers' emphasis on the generation gap and the gender gap.

Another contribution of the Frankfurt School is the theory of authoritarian personality, elaborated in the 1940s and 1950s. *Authoritarianism* was considered a product of the patriarchal family, as posited by Frederick Engels (1884) in *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Marcuse (1969b) provided arguments for women's liberation during the New Left movement in the 1960s.

Because most of the original members of the Frankfurt School became American citizens, the focus of critical theory shifted to American forms of authoritarianism

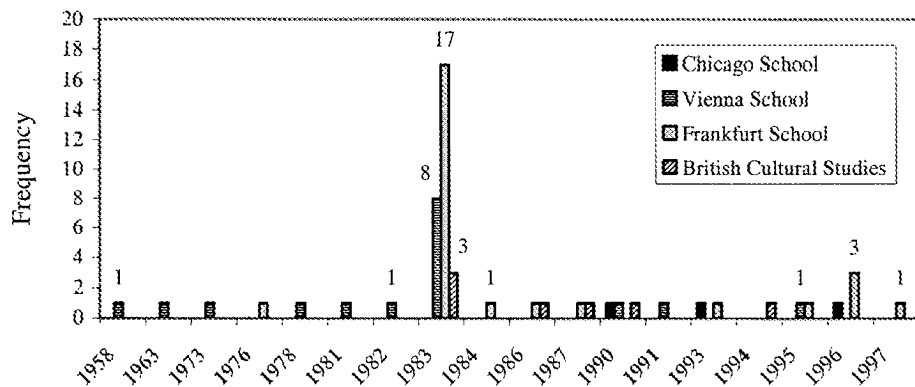


Figure 5. Distribution of references to schools of thought: 1956–2000.

and American mass culture. As the United States had gentler forms of enforced conformism, the critical theorists in America proposed nondogmatic tolerance for diversity and education for tolerance, rather than Marxist revolutionary change.

The Institute returned to Frankfurt in 1950 with Horkheimer, Adorno, and Pollock. Adorno joined Horkheimer as its codirector (1955). A second generation of Frankfurt School theory began to develop in the 1960s, with Jürgen Habermas as a leading figure. With the death of Adorno (1969) and Horkheimer (1973), what was known as the Frankfurt School ceased to exist, although the Institute of Social Research continued its activity.

British Cultural Studies or Birmingham School. The British Cultural Studies emerged at the University of Birmingham, U.K., where Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall founded the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in 1963–1964. The Birmingham cultural scholars (including Raymond Williams, Dick Hebdige, Angela McRobbie) have used metatheoretical perspectives that combined Marxism and political economy, poststructuralism, critical race theory, and feminist theory. They drew their tools from sociology, history, ethnography, and media studies (e.g., textual analysis, media audience studies). The theoretical contributions of the Birmingham School included sociological and philosophical perspectives on culture (e.g., Hall, 1992, 1995; Hoggart, 1969, 1972; Williams, 1966, 1980, 1981), advances in popular arts aesthetics (e.g., Hall, 1964), as well as linguistics and semiotics (e.g., Hall, 1980, 1997; Hoggart, 2003; Williams, 1976).

The Birmingham School showed active involvement (from a socialist perspective) in current issues, such as social and political aspects of culture components and trends (e.g., Hall, 1968, 1975, 1996; Hoggart, 1995a, 1995b; Williams, 1961, 1989). The cultural scholars were particularly interested in mass media (e.g., Hall, 1972; Hoggart, 1982, 2004; Williams, 1975). Hoggart (1978) took the Gramscian concept of media hegemony a step further and discussed media imperialism.

The Birmingham School shares many features with the Frankfurt School. Both are transdisciplinary enterprises that examine culture as a mode of ideological

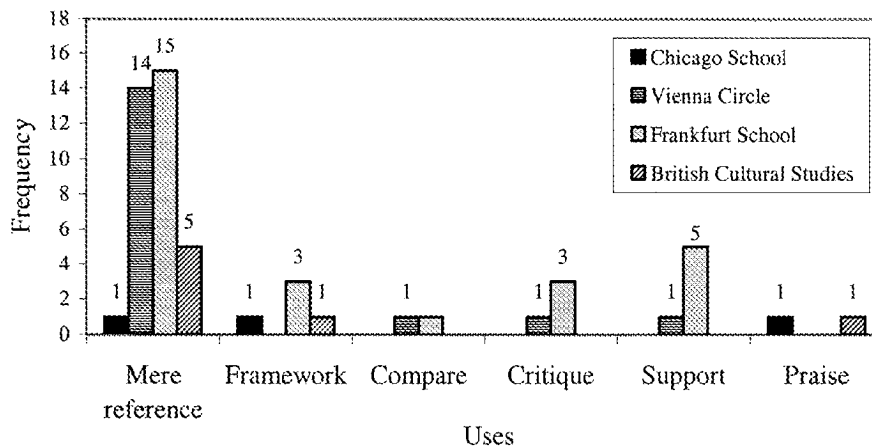


Figure 6. Uses of references to schools of thought.

reproduction and political domination. Unlike the Frankfurt scholars (particularly Adorno), who regarded mass culture as a homogeneous form of ideological domination and looked at avant garde art as an oppositional and emancipatory force, the British cultural scholars have emphasized audience interpretations and youth cultures as forms of opposition to the dominant ideology.

As can be seen from examining Figure 4, the Frankfurt School ($n = 27$) and the Vienna Circle ($n = 17$) were the most frequently cited schools of thought in the sample of mass communication investigations we examined. Equally obvious, we hope, is that most mass communication scholars “do science” and create theory without discussing the epistemological foundations of their particular philosophy of science.

Figure 5 graphs the fluctuations of references to the four schools over time: References to all three European schools peaked in 1983 with the publication of the “Ferment in the Field” issue of *Journal of Communication*. All references to the Chicago School were found in articles published during the 1990s.

Figure 6 indicates the purposes the citations of the four schools of thought served. As is readily apparent, the most common usage is mere reference. Moreover, the findings indicate that the Frankfurt School received more supportive attention than the other schools, which may indicate a tendency for its adherents to propagandize. The Vienna Circle was more often mentioned (i.e., mere reference) than discussed. Those scholars using the Chicago School were balanced between praise, mere reference, and use of the school of thought as a framework.

Overall Findings About Theories and Scientific Paradigms

If we set aside the 54 references to the four schools of thought, 600 theories (including models) and scientific paradigms were cited a total of 1,339 times. The overall number of such references in the three major communication journals fluctuated but tended to grow gradually between 1956 and 2000 (Figure 7). The

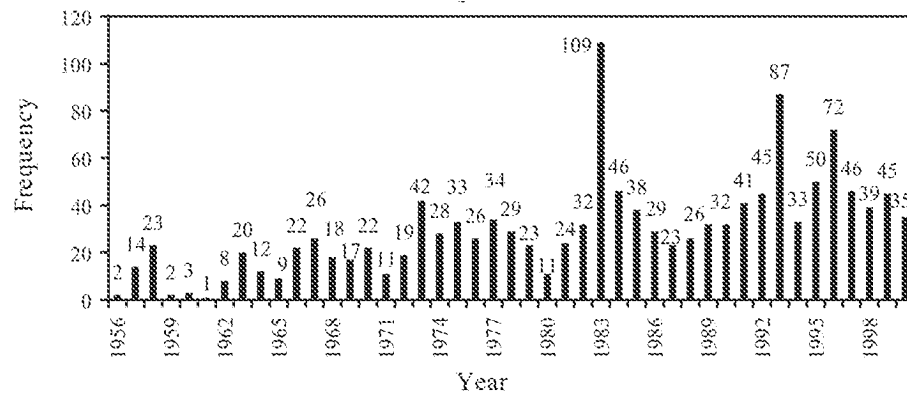


Figure 7. Distribution of references to theories and scientific paradigms: 1956–2000.

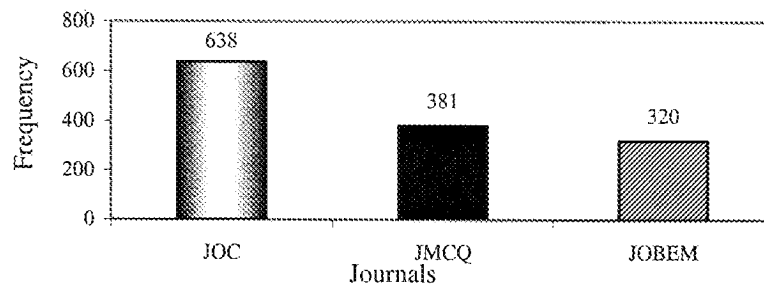


Figure 8. Distribution of references to theories and scientific paradigms by journal.

peak years were 1983 (amplified considerably by our selection by random procedure of Volume 33, Number 3, of *Journal of Communication*—the “Ferment in the Field” issue), 1993, and 1996.

The distribution of the references to theory in mass communication articles by journal (Figure 8) indicates that *JOC* has favored research with a stronger theoretical framework. It has published articles that reference or utilize theory at almost twice the rate as *JMCQ* or *JOBEM*.

Findings About the Most Frequently Cited Theories and General Scientific Paradigms

Twenty-six of the 600 theories or general scientific paradigms utilized were cited in 10 or more articles. We will refer to them as the “top 26” theories. They were cited in a total of 555 articles, for an average rate of 0.96 references per article (considering only the 576 articles that mentioned theories, scientific paradigms, or schools of thought). Figure 9 presents these 26 theories by their year of origin and frequency of reference in the articles we examined. Interestingly, the most recent theory to make the top 26 list, media dependency, was first presented in 1976—

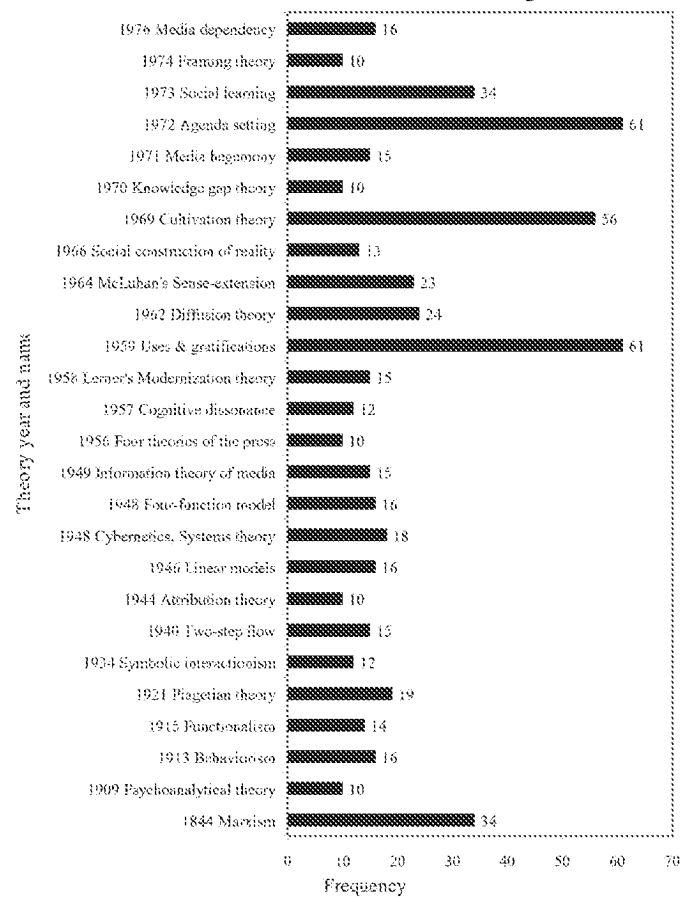


Figure 9. Distribution of references to the top 26 theories listed in order of their emergence.

nearly 30 years ago. This seems to provide tacit support to DeFleur's (1998) damning query, "Where Have All the Milestones Gone?" (p. 85). DeFleur defined a milestone as research that "provoked wide discussion and changed the way that scholars think about the mass communication process" (p. 86), but Figure 9 indicates that a similar query might well be made about provocative new theories (see Sherry, 2004, for a more comprehensive treatment of this issue).

Clearly, uses and gratifications, agenda setting, and cultivation theory are the triumvirate of popular mass communication theories, each being relied upon in more than 55 articles, whereas the next most popular theories (social learning, Marxism) were each utilized in at least 20 fewer articles than the "Big 3."

Figure 10 provides a timeline upon which we plotted the cumulative frequencies of references to the top 26 theories. As previously mentioned, the abnormally high number of references to the most popular mass communication theories in 1983 is

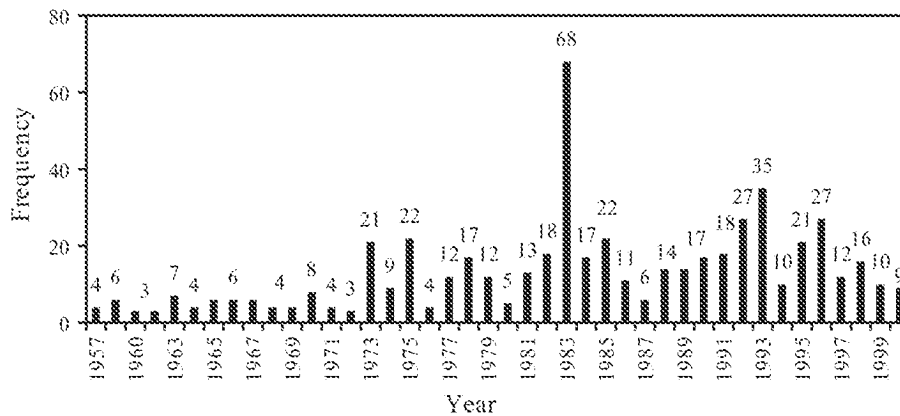


Figure 10. Distribution of references to the top 26 theories: 1956–2000.

due to the “Ferment in the Field” issue of *JOC*. Also noteworthy is the negative skew of the graph, revealing greater reliance on these popular theories in recent years.

Profiles of Top 26 Theories in Mass Communication Research

In this section, we briefly profile each of the 26 theories that were utilized most frequently in the mass communication research we analyzed. We assume that most communication scholars are relatively familiar with the theories that are “purely communication”; therefore, we devote more attention to theories and paradigms imported from outside our discipline. We present the theories chronologically, followed by normative data on their usage in 20th-century mass communication research.

Marxism (1844). As a philosophical theory, Marxism (Marx & Engels, 1848), also known as historical materialism, draws heavily on political economy (Marx, 1867). It posits that the most important features of a society are its economic classes, and history is the story of class struggles among the classes in society. New progressive classes arise that are related to new forms of production, and new forms of society arise when the new classes win power, usually by revolution. Revolutions are violent, because the dying ruling class does not give up power without a struggle. The state is the means whereby the ruling class forcibly maintains its rule over the other classes. Based on this philosophical theory, Marx proposed the political doctrine of communism, designed to eliminate class division and struggle by making the state the owner of the means of production and the agent of the entire population that enjoys equal rights and benefits while sharing work and responsibilities (e.g., Marx, 1901). The Soviet Union was the first historical experiment with Marxian communism.

In the 1,806 mass communication articles in our sample, Marxism was utilized a total of 34 times, which makes it tied as the fourth most frequently cited theory. Figure 11 reveals that 14 of these references (41.17%) were from 1983 (“Ferment in the Field,” *JOC*). Otherwise, 6 references were from the period prior to 1968,

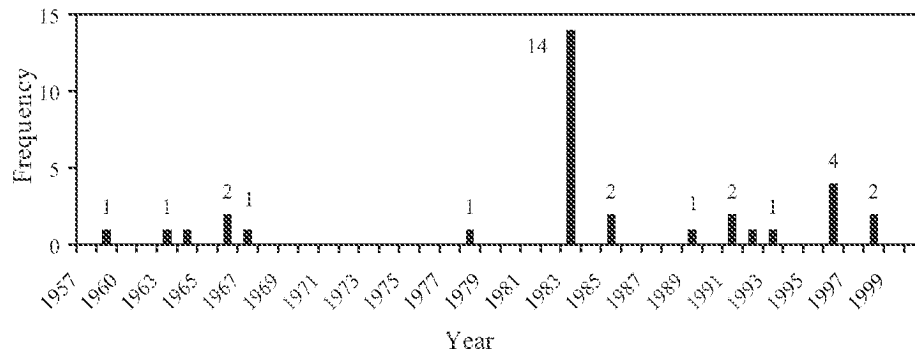


Figure 11. Marxism or communist theory: Distribution by year.

and 10 references were from the 1990s. *JOC* contributed to our sample most articles that cited Marxism (85.29%), and *JMCQ* added 5 such articles (14.71%). None of the 344 *JOBEM* articles we analyzed included references to this theory. Thirty-three articles (97.06%) used Marxism as mere reference, and 1 article (2.94%) involved a critique of the theory.

Psychoanalytical theory (1909). Sigmund Freud first used the term *psychoanalysis* in 1902 when he started to meet weekly with a circle of physicians to discuss his ideas and methodology. From 1908 on, the group called itself the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society. In 1910 the International Psycho-Analytical Association was formed in Nuremberg, with Swiss psychologist Carl Jung as the first president. Freud's psychotherapy movement was disturbed by the German troops that occupied Austria in 1938 and forced Freud to emigrate to England, where he died in 1939.

By contemporary standards, psychoanalysis is the intellectual wellspring of pseudoscientific psychotherapies. Freud treated brain disorders not as physiology (chemistry) problems but as consequences of mothering problems. His treatment was "talk" therapy. The fundamental concept of psychoanalytical theory (e.g., Freud, 1910, 1914, 1917a, 1917b, 1924a, 1924b, 1926) is the notion of the unconscious mind as a reservoir for repressed memories of traumatic events that influence conscious thought and behavior. The scientific evidence for unconscious repression is lacking. Equally questionable are the psychoanalytical methods of investigating the alleged memories hidden in the unconscious: free association and the interpretation of dreams. Both methods lack empirical testing. Due to undeveloped frontal lobes and poor encoding, infants are unlikely to have memories of abuse. Under the circumstances, hypnosis or free association is unlikely to help people abused in early childhood remember what happened to them.

Freud deserves recognition for pioneering the desire to understand and treat with tolerance and respect those whose behavior and thoughts cross the boundaries of convention set by civilization and cultures. In addition, Freud's technique of listening to distressed people over long periods rather than giving them orders or advice has formed the foundation of most modern forms of psychotherapy.

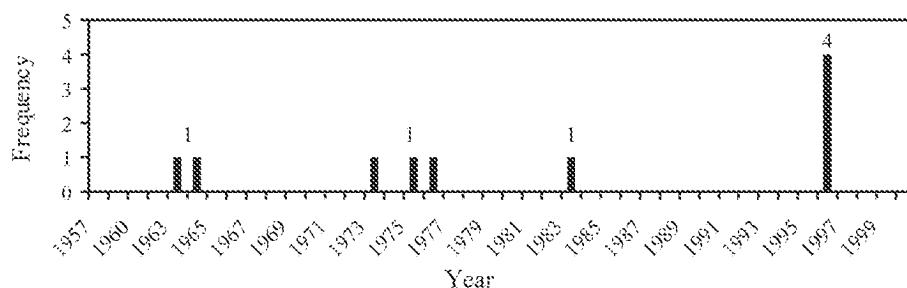


Figure 12. Psychoanalytical theory: Distribution by year.

Psychoanalytical theory was utilized 10 times in the sample of articles we examined—the minimum to make our cutoff. As can be seen from Figure 12, Freud's work was cited infrequently and irregularly until 1997, when it received 4 references. *JOC* was the predominant site of psychoanalytical theory in mass communication research (80% of references to this theory), and *JMCQ* had the Freudian theory mentioned in 2 articles (20%). Nine out of 10 articles included mere references to Freudianism, and only 1 article made integrative use of the theory.

Behaviorism (1913). Behaviorism emerged as a methodological reaction in psychology, promoting scientific objectivism as opposed to the interpretive (speculative) trend set by psychoanalysis. It evolved as a theory of learning as acquisition of new behaviors. John B. Watson (1913, 1914, 1916, 1924; Watson & McDougall, 1928) was the proponent of methodological behaviorism. He argued that only behavior could be studied objectively, whereas mental processes could not; therefore mental processes were not legitimate objects of scientific investigation. Watson's methodology was based on the experiments of Ivan Pavlov, who had studied animals' responses to conditioning. One of the theoretical antecedents of Watson's analytical behaviorism is the classical associationism of British empiricists John Locke and David Hume, who believed that associations enabled people to discover the causal structure of the world. Another school that paved the way for behaviorism was logical positivism.

Burrus Frederic Skinner (1953, 1959, 1974) used Watson's research framework in his lab work and proposed an operant conditioning theory that described behavior acquisition as associative learning from experience (consequences of past responses to stimuli from the environment). Skinner's model included a contingency between the response and the presentation of a reinforcer. Skinnerian behaviorism is manipulative, as it seeks not merely to understand human behavior, but to predict and control it through rewards and punishments. It had a strong influence on social sciences, particularly education and sociology. Its relevance to communication (beyond research methodology) comes from the treatment of language as symbolic self-stimulation and as a way of responding to other stimulations.

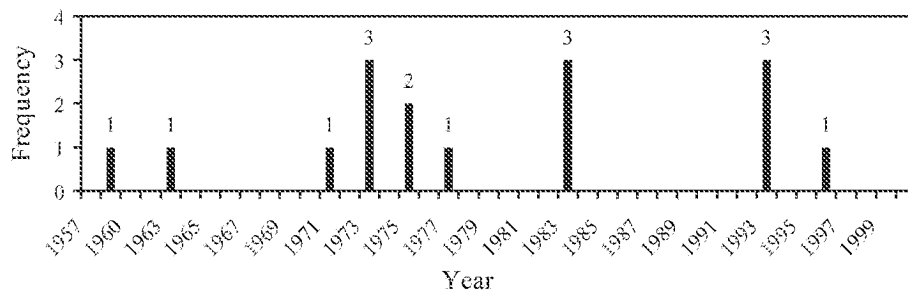


Figure 13. Behaviorism: Distribution by year.

Skinner's theory and applications have raised ethical questions about the right to control and shape people's behavior. His theory was also contested on grounds of oversimplifying human learning processes by assimilation with animal learning.

Behaviorism was cited 16 times in our study sample. Figure 13 indicates that references were widely scattered over time. The primary host of behaviorism was *JOC*, which contributed to our sample 81.25% of the articles that cited this theory, whereas *JMCQ* provided 2 such articles (12.5%), and *JOBEM* 1 article (6.25%). The usages of behaviorism were primarily mere reference (75%). This theory was critiqued on 2 occasions (12.5%) and compared with other theories twice (12.5%).

Functionalism (1915). French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1915) is one of the founders of structural functionalism. He examined the relations between social facts, social structures, cultural norms and values, and the individual. In Britain, functionalism was promoted early in the 20th century by anthropologists as a way of correcting the excesses of the evolutionary and diffusionist theories of the 19th-century and the historicism of the early 20th century. Functionalism became dominant in American theory in the 1950s and 1960s.

The cornerstone of functionalist theory is the metaphor of the living organism, whose parts and organs, grouped and organized into a system, function to keep its essential processes going. Similarly, members of a society can be thought of as cells and its institutions as organs whose functioning (accommodation) preserves the cohesive whole and maintains the system's homeostasis.

The champions of functionalism in communication were Merton and Lazarsfeld. They examined media use as a knowledge acquisition function influenced by social structures (e.g., Merton, 1937; Merton & Lazarsfeld, 1943). They were particularly interested in mass persuasion and propaganda through media (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1942; Merton, Lowenthal, & Curtis, 1946). Lazarsfeld and Merton (1950; Merton, 1949, 1960) played an important role in the institutionalization and research implementation of the functionalist methodology in communication.

Functionalism in general contributed to social sciences a research strategy based on system analysis and the ethnographic fieldwork method of observing social behaviors in their cultural contexts (e.g., Evans-Pritchard, 1940, 1951; Firth, 1951; Fortes, 1949).

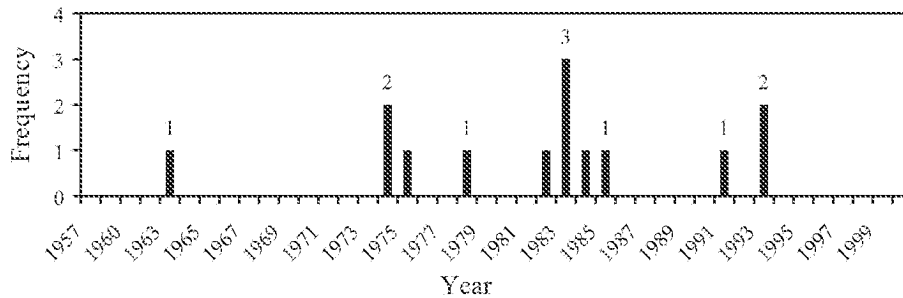


Figure 14. Functionalism: Distribution by year.

Criticism of the postulated conservatism of functionalism and of its disregard of historical processes caused a decline in the use of this theory in the early 1970s. The neo-functionalism of the 1980s reduced culture to adaptation (Bettinger, 1996) and focused on the modeling of systems-level interactions, particularly on negative feedback.

Functionalism was cited 14 times in our sample of articles. Figure 14 reveals that most of the references were clustered in the period during 1975–1985. Research utilizing functionalism was found in all three journals: 64.28% in *JOC*, 21.43% in *JOBEM*, and 14.29% in *JMCQ*. As far as uses of functionalism are concerned, 11 articles (78.57%) included mere references to the theory, and 3 (21.43%) utilized the theory to provide a conceptual framework for research.

Piaget's cognitive development theory (1921). Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget created a new science that he named *genetic epistemology*. After earning a doctorate in zoology, Piaget went to Zurich to study psychoanalysis with Carl Jung. Then he moved to Paris to study logic and abnormal psychology. Working with Theodore Simon in Alfred Binet's child psychology lab, Piaget became interested in children's reasoning processes and the way a child's mind develops.

Piaget's (e.g., 1921, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1927, 1950) legacy is an empirically based theory of the growth of an individual's knowledge from infancy to adulthood, pictured as a progressive construction of logically embedded structures superseding one another by a process of inclusion of lower (less powerful) logical means into higher ones. Piaget's theory posits four stages of childhood development (sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operational, formal operational), and describes knowledge construction as adaptation, which includes two major processes: assimilation of new objects into old schemata and accommodation of old schemata to new objects.

The impact of Piagetian theory is due to its intrinsic heuristic value as well as to its institutionalization as a school of thought and a team research enterprise with a clearly defined experimental methodology. Piaget's advances in genetic epistemology contributed to the development of artificial intelligence and computer science, and his contributions in the area of child development provided the

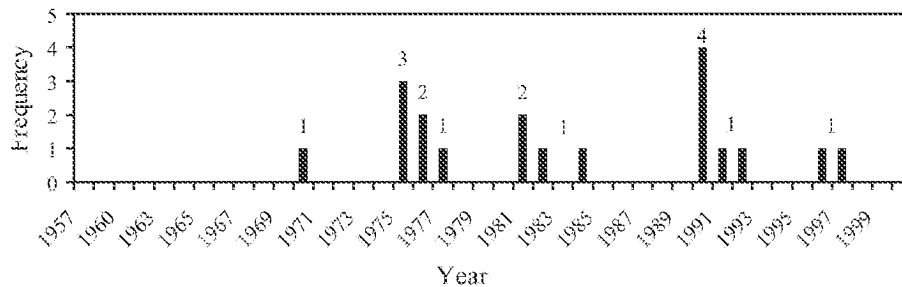


Figure 15. Piagetian theory of cognitive development: Distribution by year.

foundation for several education reform movements, as well as a platform for conducting mass communication research with children.

In our sample of mass communication articles, Piagetian theory was cited 19 times, with no references before the 1970s and with a fairly even distribution of use over time thereafter (Figure 15). *JOBEM* and *JOC* were the primary loci of research utilizing stage development theory. Piagetianism was mentioned in 9 *JOBEM* articles (47.37%), 8 *JOC* articles (42.11%), and 2 *JMCQ* articles (10.53%). Unlike most of the theories cited in mass communication research, Piaget's theories were more frequently utilized to provide a conceptual framework for research (52.63%). Eight articles (42.11%) included mere references to Piagetianism, and 1 article (5.26%) critiqued it.

Symbolic interactionism (1934). Symbolic interactionism is one of the major theoretical perspectives in sociology. It originated in the works of the German sociologist and economist Max Weber and American philosopher George H. Mead. The name of the theory was coined by Herbert Blumer (1969), who studied with Mead at the University of Chicago and authored perhaps the most prominent version of the theory.

For interactionists, humans are pragmatic actors who continually adjust their behavior to the actions of other actors. We can adjust to these actions only because we are able to assign meanings to them, treat them as symbolic objects, and imaginatively rehearse alternative lines of action before we act. The process is further aided by our ability to think about and react to our own actions and our selves as symbolic objects. Interactionist theorists view humans as active participants who construct their social world, and society as organized and patterned interactions among individuals. Unlike functionalists, for whom socialization creates stability in the social system, interactionists assume that the negotiation of meanings among members of society creates temporary relations that are in constant flux despite the relative stability of the basic institutional framework that governs social relations.

Forerunners of symbolic interactionism were Weber (1904, 1906), who distinguished between subjective meaning of a particular actor in a particular situation and an average or approximate meaning attributable to a given plurality of actors, and Emile Durkheim (1915), who introduced the concept of "collective represen-

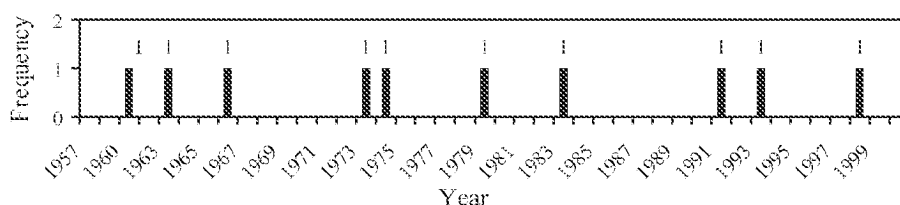


Figure 16. Symbolic interactionism: Distribution by year.

tations” and development of ideas through the interaction of many minds. George Mead (Mead & Morris, 1934, 1938), elaborated on the generation of mind and self in the process of social interaction. Erving Goffman (1958) theorized on the roles people play and the way they define these roles. Harold Garfinkel (1967) pioneered an “ethnomethodology” appropriate for the study of symbolic interactionism. His “breaching experiments” tackled the problem of how people who are interacting with each other can create the illusion of a shared social order even when they do not understand each other fully and in fact have different points of view. The ethnomethodological method involves participant observation and analysis of turn-taking maneuvers in ordinary conversations.

Symbolic interactionism advanced the methodology of interpersonal communication research and the sociology of communication in general, but has been criticized for being “impressionistic” and unsystematic.

Symbolic interactionism was utilized 12 times in our sample of articles, with the usage widely dispersed throughout the time period examined (Figure 16). Although all three journals published articles using symbolic interactionism, two thirds of such articles were found in *JOC*. Each of the others had 2 articles that mentioned the theory (16.67% per journal). As was the case with most other theories, the dominant usage of symbolic interactionism was mere reference (11 articles, 91.67%). One article (8.33%) used the theory for comparison purposes.

Two-step flow of communication (1940). As empirical research conducted in the 1940s and 1950s failed to support theories of powerful media effects (e.g., the magic bullet and hypodermic needle theories), functionalist Lazarsfeld and his colleagues proposed that people’s interpersonal communication with opinion leaders mediates the effects of mass communication (e.g., Katz, 1957; Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1940, 1944). The new model, called the two-step flow, was later utilized by diffusion researchers and theorists.

Two-step flow was mentioned in 15 articles in our sample, with usage spread from 1960 through 1997 (Figure 17). The modal response occurred in 1983 with the “Ferment” issue of *JOC*. This theory was utilized in 9 *JOC* articles (60%), 4 *JMCQ* articles (26.67%), and 1 *JOBEM* article (6.67%). Although the predominant use of two-step flow was mere reference (60%), it was also called upon as a framework (13.33%), as a subject of critique (13.33%), to expand the theory (6.67%), and to integrate it with other theory (6.67%).

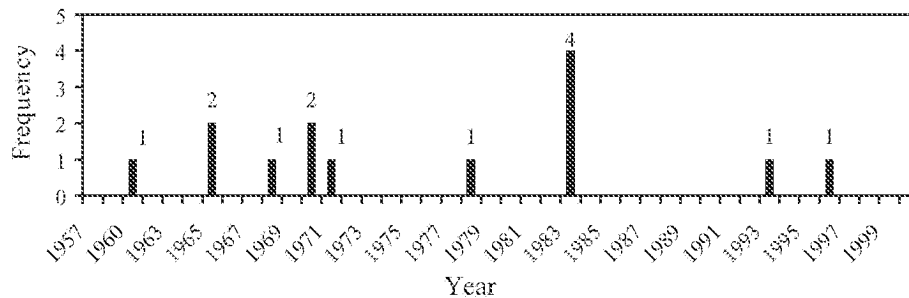


Figure 17. Two-step flow of communication: Distribution by year.

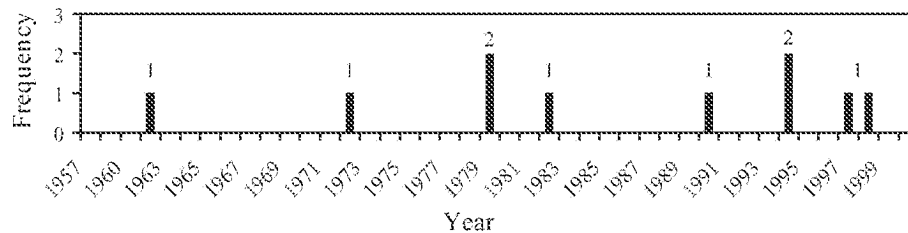


Figure 18. Attribution theory: Distribution by year.

Attribution theory (1944). The father of attribution theory, social psychologist Fritz Heider (1944, 1958) defined attribution as an effort to predict and control the world by assigning transient behavior to relatively unchanging dispositions. An external attribution claims that some outside thing motivated the behavior, and an internal attribution assigns causality to factors within the person. A major concern of attribution theorists has been accounting for errors and biases (e.g., Kelley, 1967; Pettigrew, 1979; Ross, 1977) in the direction of personal control/responsibility or that of environmental control/responsibility. Generally, people tend to attribute their success to some internal factor or their failure to external factors. The study of attribution biases surfaced in the issue of self-perception (e.g., Bem, 1972). A person's pattern of internal and external attributions reveals her self-positioning within the group of persons with whom she relates (e.g., Harvey, Orbuch, & Weber, 1992).

Attribution theory was utilized 10 times in our sample, with usage widely distributed throughout the time span of the sample (Figure 18). This theory was mentioned in 4 *JOC* articles (40%), 4 *JOBEM* articles, and 2 *JMCQ* articles. Fifty percent of the articles that utilized attribution theory made mere references to it, 40% used attribution as a theoretical framework for research, and 10% compared it with other theories.

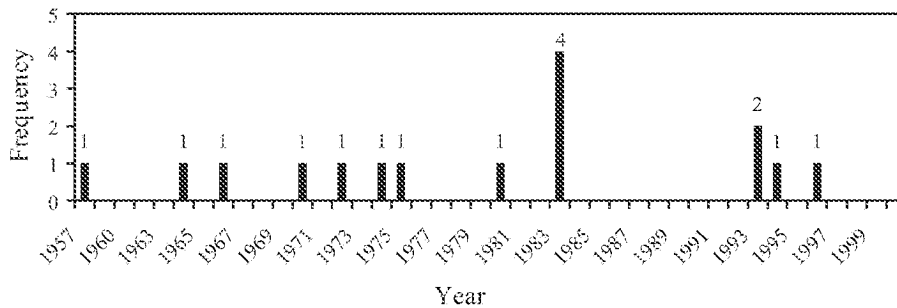


Figure 19. Linear models of communication: Distribution by year.

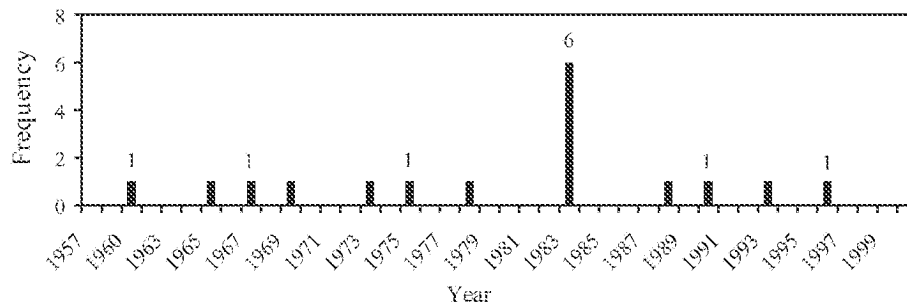


Figure 20. Four-functions model of the media: Distribution by year.

Linear models (1946). The early models of mass communication processes and effects posited a unidirectional flow of information from communicators through media to the audience. Harold Lasswell (1948) is most commonly associated with the classical pattern for studying mass communication: Who says what, in which channel, to whom, with what effects. Subsequent theorizing focused on particular segments and aspects of the sequential process.

Linear models were utilized 16 times in our sample of articles, with usage spread relatively evenly across time, except for the modal response in 1983, created by the *JOC* "Ferment" issue (Figure 19). Of the 16 articles utilizing linear models, 62.50% were in *JOC*, 31.25% in *JMCQ*, and 6.25% in *JOBEM*. Linear models were critiqued in 2 of the articles (12.50%), used as a theoretical framework in 1 article (6.25%), and merely mentioned in the other 13 articles (81.25%).

Four functions (1948). Harold Lasswell (1948, 1960) proposed that media perform three basic societal functions: surveillance of current events (providing news), correlation among the members of the society that the press system serves (selecting, interpreting, and criticizing events), and transmission of social heritage (socialization). Charles Wright (1960) added the fourth function: entertainment. The four functions performed by media typically are perceived to be instrumental, but if performed ineffectively they may also be dysfunctional. Surveillance may have

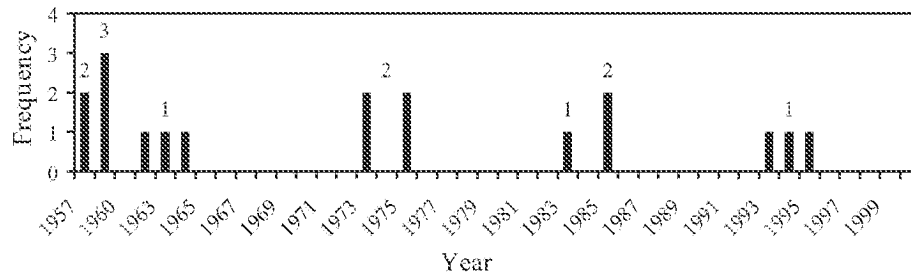


Figure 21. Cybernetics, general systems theory, informatics: Distribution by year.

a cumulative dysfunctional effect of public “narcotization,” creating apathy. Correlation may lead to tyranny of the majority and may hamper social change. Transmission may cause standardization (later to be called “cultivation”). Media entertainment may encourage escapism, corrupt fine art, and lower public taste.

The four functions theory was relied upon 16 times in our sample of articles. Figure 20 shows that usage was spread across time, with a “bump” resulting in 1983 (again, from *JOC*’s special issue). The theory was mentioned in 9 *JOC* articles (56.25%), 5 *JMCQ* articles (31.25%), and 2 *JOBEM* articles (12.5%). This theory was utilized as a mere reference (62.50%) or framework for research (25%). It was critiqued in 1 article (12.50%).

Cybernetics/general systems theory (1948). The father of cybernetics, mathematician Norbert Wiener (1948), described causal networks underlying communication and organization processes in dynamical systems. Cybernetics forms a metatheoretical superstructure for individual disciplines such as systems theory, communication theory, or decision analysis. Applied cybernetics serves as an auxiliary science for many fields beside technology (e.g., biology, medicine, psychology, sociology, management) and has proven useful in designing systems. Cybernetics also contributed a novel approach to language, arts, performance, and intelligence (to name a few).

Cybernetics, general systems theory, and informatics were cited 18 times in our sample. As Figure 21 reveals, the most frequent use of this cluster of theories occurred in the early years covered by our analysis (1957–1964). We found renewed interest, however, in this theoretical area in the early 1970s, early 1980s, and early 1990s. In our sample, this cluster of theories was featured in 12 *JOC* articles (66.67%), 5 *JMCQ* articles (27.78%), and 1 *JOBEM* article (5.55%). One article made integrative use of cybernetics (5.55%), 3 articles used it as a framework for research (16.67%), and 14 (77.78%) made mere references to theories in this cluster.

Shannon and Weaver’s mathematical theory of media (1949). The mathematical theory of communication proposed by Shannon and Weaver’s (1949) described media communication as a linear process including an information source, a message to be transmitted, a transmitter (technology), a signal, noise affecting the signal during transmission through media, a receiver (technology), a transmitted

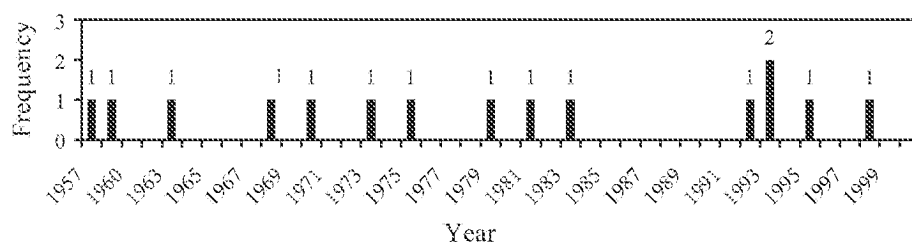


Figure 22. Mathematical theory of communication: Distribution by year.

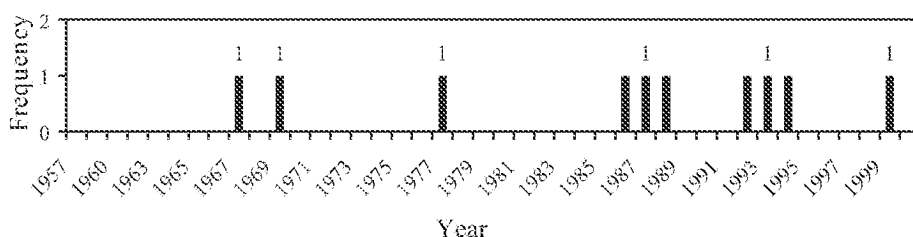


Figure 23. Four theories of the press: Distribution by year.

message, and a destination (human receiver). Shannon and Weaver were particularly interested in technical aspects of signal fidelity, especially in noise effects on communication quality.

The mathematical theory of mass communication was cited 15 times in our sample. Figure 22 shows that usage was widely dispersed over time. Our sample included 7 *JOC* articles that mentioned Shannon and Weaver's theory (46.67%), 5 *JOBEM* articles (33.33%), and 3 *JMCQ* articles (20%). Twelve articles (80%) merely referenced this theory, 1 article supported it (6.67%), 1 compared it with other theories, and another used it as a framework for research.

Four theories of the press (1956). In a normative theory, Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956) described four major types of press systems: authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist. Their "four theories of the press" provide the logic and functioning of the four macro-organizational press structures associated with different sociopolitical systems.

The "four theories" notion was utilized 10 times in articles in our sample, with widely dispersed usage over time between 1967 and 1999 (Figure 23). *JMCQ* was the home of most references to the four theories of the press (80%), and *JOC* contributed to our sample 20% of the usage. Seven of the articles (70%) offered mere references to the four theories of the press, 2 critiqued the theory, and 1 used it as a framework for research.

Cognitive dissonance theory (1957). Festinger's (1957) cognitive dissonance theory holds that people try to make sense of the world by looking for some consistency among their own views and those of other people. Any perceived

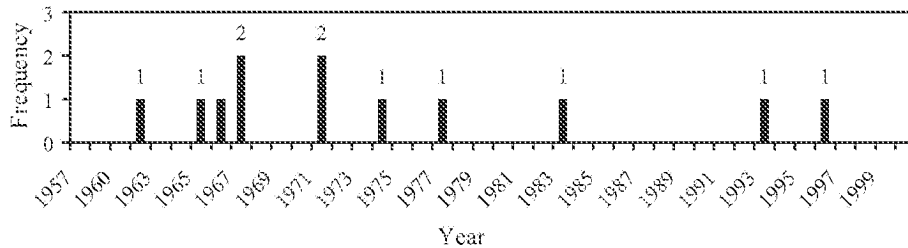


Figure 24. Cognitive dissonance: Distribution by year.

inconsistency among various aspects of knowledge (beliefs, opinions) and attitudes sets up an unpleasant internal state labeled cognitive dissonance, which they try to diminish.

Festinger's theory was preceded by experimental work by Solomon Asch (e.g., 1955, 1956) on group pressure on the minority, and by cognitive consistency theorizing (e.g., Heider, 1946; Newcomb, 1953; Osgood, 1954).

The strength of the dissonance depends on the number of dissonant beliefs and the importance attached to each belief. Dissonance can be eliminated by reducing the importance of the dissonant beliefs, adding more consonant beliefs to outweigh the dissonant beliefs, or changing the dissonant beliefs so that they are no longer inconsistent. The change may be achieved by accommodating one's cognitive and emotional states to conform to those of other people, or by persuading others to change.

Twelve articles in our sample relied upon Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory, with usage widely distributed over time from 1963 to 1997 (Figure 24). All three journals we examined published cognitive dissonance research: *JOC* was the leader with 7 articles (58.33%), followed at some distance by *JMCQ* (33.33%), and *JOBEM* (8.33%). Five articles (41.67%) used cognitive dissonance as a theoretical framework for research, 3 (25%) compared it with other theories, and the remaining 4 (33.33%) merely referenced the theory.

Lerner's modernization theory (1958). Daniel Lerner (1958) used ethnographic research findings in the Middle East to document the disruption of traditional cultural and social patterns and the establishment of modern lifestyles and social structures as an effect of the introduction of radio. Lerner's theory of media-induced modernization served as a framework for modernization policies in underdeveloped countries, in which mass media deployment at the early stage of intervention was expected to disseminate the information necessary for all desired changes.

Lerner's communication theory of modernization was utilized in 15 articles in our sample, with usage widely spread over time (Figure 25). *JOC* and *JMCQ* were the home of modernization theory as they provided 53.33% and 46.67%, respectively, of all articles that mentioned Lerner's theory. Modernization theory was merely referenced in 10 articles (66.67%), compared with other theories in 2 reports (13.33%), used as a theoretical framework for research in 2 articles (13.33%) and critiqued in 1 article (6.67%).

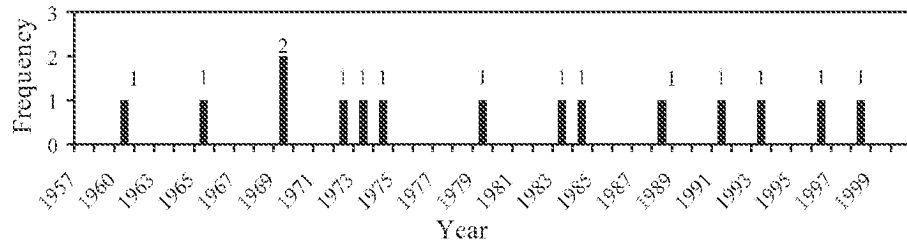


Figure 25. Communication theory of modernization: Distribution by year.

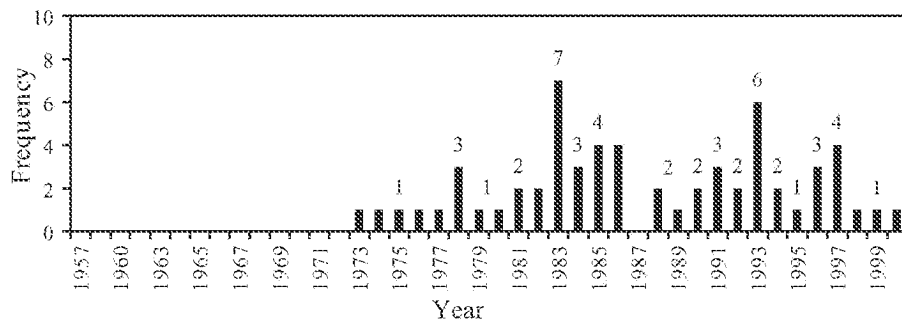


Figure 26. Uses and gratifications: Distribution by year.

Uses and gratifications (1959). The official birth of the uses and gratifications theory can be considered 1959, when Bernard Berelson claimed that communication research appeared to be dead, and Elihu Katz responded that research should move from what media do to people (persuasion) to what people do with the media. That controversy switched mass communication research from a passive-audience paradigm to an active-audience philosophy.

The earliest studies on media uses and effects actually started before this paradigm change (e.g., Herzog, 1944; Lazarsfeld & Stanton, 1942, 1944, 1949; Riley & Riley, 1951; Suchman, 1942; Wolfe & Fiske, 1949). Berelson (1965) himself had conducted a study on the effects of a newspaper strike in 1949.

The general approach to early media uses and gratifications (sought and obtained) was descriptive, and the research products were increasingly refined classifications (e.g., McQuail, Blumler, & Brown, 1972; Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974; Katz, Gurevitch, & Haas, 1973). Although later explications took a theoretically more sophisticated turn (e.g., Rubin, 2002), the theory has been criticized for lack of depth and systematicity.

A major reaction to the uses and gratifications paradigm emerged from one of the identified uses: the ritualistic or habitual media consumption or exposure (e.g., Donohew, Nair, & Finn, 1984; Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 1990), which revived the concept of the passive audience.

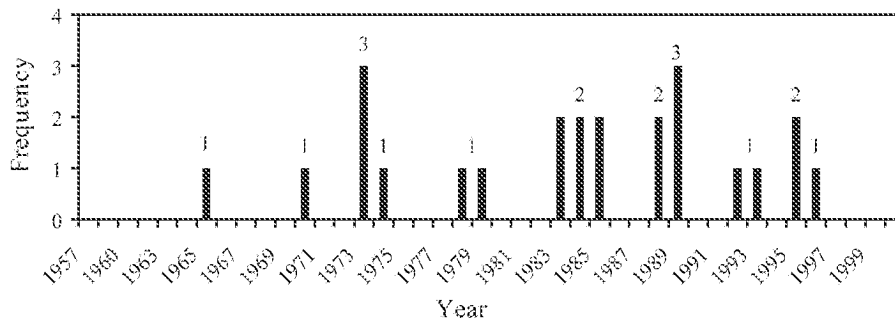


Figure 27. Diffusion: Distribution by year.

Tied with agenda setting as the most frequently utilized theoretical perspective in our sample ($n = 61$), U&G was frequently cited throughout the 1970s–1990s, with 1983 and 1993 being years of particularly heavy usage (Figure 26). We found references to U&G in 27 *JOBEM* articles (44.26%), 22 *JOC* articles (36.07%), and 12 *JMCQ* articles (19.67%). Most of the usage of this paradigm was either mere reference or theoretical framework for research (44.26% each use). Three articles (4.92%) critiqued this paradigm, 2 articles (3.28%) integrated it with other theories, 1 article (1.64%) made comparative use of it, and another article supported U&G.

Diffusion theory (1962). Everett Rogers's (1962) diffusion theory was a synthesis of research findings in the areas of diffusion of innovations that started with Ryan and Gross's (1943) study on the adoption of hybrid seed corn in Iowa. Rogers's theory addresses the roles of media and interpersonal communication (opinion leaders) and the characteristics of an innovation that affect the rate of its adoption (relative advantage, compatibility, low complexity, trialability, observability). Another facilitator of diffusion is the heterophily of the social environment. Inspired by linear models of communication, Rogers posited a sequence of steps in the diffusion process: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation. He classified adopters as innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. Rogers argued that a critical mass of adopters is needed for diffusion to become self-sustaining.

Diffusion theory has been used in mass communication research on the adoption of new technologies and the spreading of news (e.g., Danielson, 1956; DeFleur, 1988; Rosengren, 1987).

Diffusion was mentioned in 24 articles and is the sixth most frequently cited theory in our sample. This theory was referenced from 1966 through 1997 (Figure 27) in all three journals we examined, with *JMCQ* contributing to our sample 14 articles that mentioned diffusion (58.33%), *JOC* offering 6 such articles (25%), and *JOBEM* providing 4 articles (16.67%). More than half (54.17%) of the articles that mentioned diffusion merely referenced the theory, 20.83% used it as a theoretical framework for research, and 12.5% expanded this theory. In addition, 1 report (4.17%) critiqued diffusion, another made integrative use of this theory, and a third provided a new application.

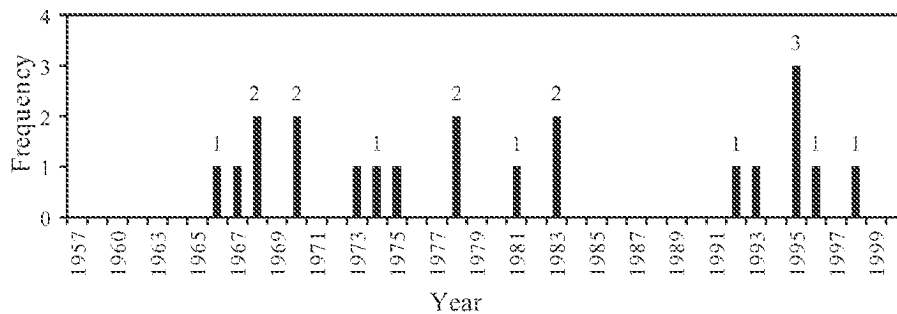


Figure 28. Sense-extension theory of the media: Distribution by year.

Sense-extension theory of the media (1964). Marshall McLuhan (1964) viewed communication media as expansions of the senses with which humans are naturally endowed. He further argued that the major effects of the media are due to forms rather than contents, as forms affect our habits of perception and thinking.

McLuhan's notions were utilized 23 times in our sample, rendering sense-extension theory the seventh most popular theory we found. Figure 28 reveals frequent usage of the theory between 1967 and 1983 and again between 1992 and 1999. *JOC* published nearly half the references to this theory (47.82%), with the remainder equally divided between the other two journals (26.09% each). McLuhan's sense extension theory served as mere reference in 14 articles (60.87%), provided a framework for research in 5 studies (21.74%), was critiqued in 2 articles (8.70%), praised in 1 (4.35%), and integrated with other theory in another.

Social construction of reality (1966). Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) introduced the concept of "social construction of reality." The two sociologists posited that our specific humanity is associated with our sociality, and individuals work together to produce a human environment. The biological openness of human existence is transformed by social order into a relative closedness. All human activity is subject to habitualization, which limits choices, saves effort, and makes processing capacity available for deliberation and innovation. The institutionalization of habitualized practice ensures control. The institutional world is experienced as an objective reality.

Berger and Luckmann's theory regarding the social construction of reality came to be applied to the study of mass communication (e.g., Chandler, 1998; Cohen & Young, 1981; Peace, 2004) because of the role played by mass media (both news and entertainment) in the habitualization process and the support it provides to institutions, further stabilizing the social system.

Utilized in 13 articles in the mass communication research sample we examined, social construction of reality was used in our field primarily during the 1980s and 1990s (Figure 29). This theory was referred to in 8 articles published in *JOC* (61.54%) and 5 articles published in *JOEM* (38.46%). Unlike most of the other theories in the top 26, its primary usage was as a framework for research (69.23%). Only 4 articles (30.80%) merely referenced it.

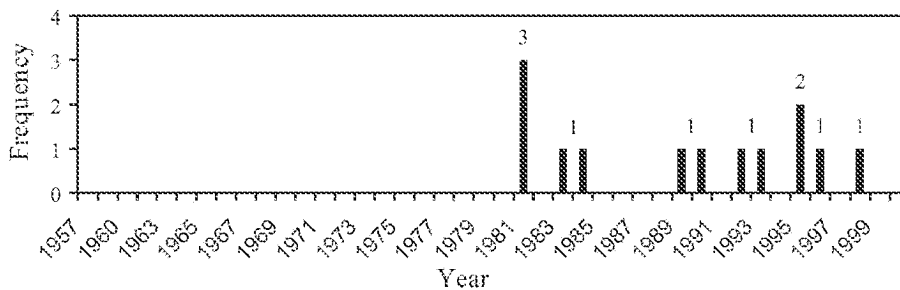


Figure 29. Social construction of reality: Distribution by year.

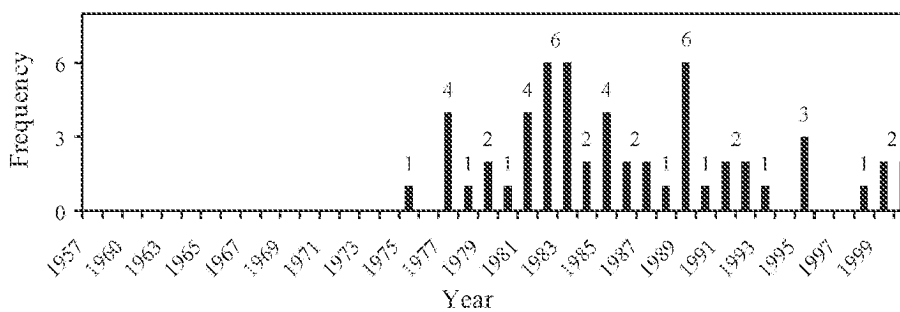


Figure 30. Cultivation theory: Distribution by year.

Cultivation theory (1969). George Gerbner and his associates at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, believed that people are immersed into the cultural environment created by the media and cannot escape its “cultivating” influence (e.g., Gerbner, 1969; Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1980). Gerbner and his team studied long-term, cumulative effects of exposure to mass media. They started by content analyzing television programming for their “cultural indicators” and found high levels of violence that provided an inaccurate picture of reality. Audience research showed that viewers who watched more television tended to have more consistent (“mainstreamed”) views and attitudes, and they shared a more pessimistic perception of reality (“the mean world syndrome”).

Cultivation theory was relied upon 56 times in the articles we content analyzed, making it the third most frequently utilized theory in the sample of mass communication research we examined. First published in 1969, cultivation theory was cited and employed heavily throughout the mid-1970s to late 1980s and continued to receive moderate use throughout the remainder of the 20th century (Figure 30). Many of the early studies of cultivation theory were published in *JOC*, which Gerbner edited at the time, but overall, *JOEM* published slightly more articles that referred to cultivation (44.64%) than did *JOC* (42.86%), whereas *JMCQ* published a relatively small portion (12.50%). Cultivation theory was utilized in many

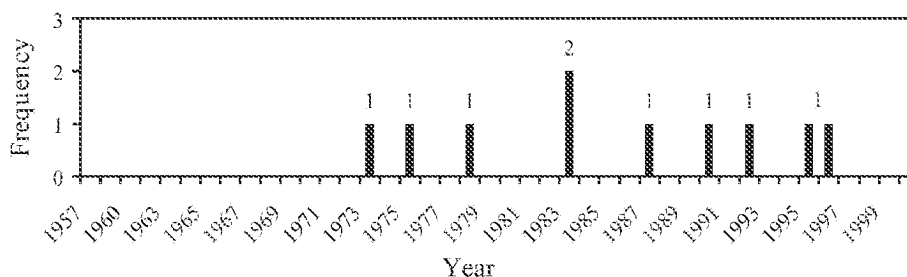


Figure 31. Knowledge gap theory: Distribution by year.

different ways: 24 articles (42.85%) merely referenced it, 17 articles (30.35%) used it as a theoretical framework for research, 4 articles (7.14%) critiqued it, 3 articles (5.36%) supported it, 2 articles (3.57%) tested cultivation effects, and 2 articles compared cultivation with other theories. One article (1.79%) proposed the cultivation theory, another expanded it, 1 more praised it, and another made integrative use of this theory.

Knowledge gap theory (1970). Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien's (1970) theory posits that segments of the population with higher socioeconomic status tend to acquire information at a faster rate than the lower status segments, and the gap in knowledge between these population segments tends to increase. The knowledge gap is more likely to occur with public affairs and science news. It aggravates with technological progress.

Knowledge gap theory was utilized 10 times in our sample (the threshold for inclusion), with usage spread intermittently between 1973 and 1997 (Figure 31) and across all three journals examined. We found this theory mentioned in 5 *JOC* articles (50%), 4 *JMCQ* articles (40%), and 1 *JOBE* article. The uses of knowledge gap theory were quite diverse: 4 studies only referenced it, 2 supported it, 2 utilized it as a framework, 1 proposed new aspects of the theory, and another tested it directly.

Media hegemony (1971). The concepts of cultural/media imperialism or hegemony (e.g., Galtung, 1971; Gitlin, 1980; Said, 1993; Sallach, 1974) developed from the Marxist theory of economic determinism, revamped and disseminated by the Frankfurt School. Media hegemony theorists posited that the class that has economic power uses not only politics (ideology and government structures) but also culture (science, arts, education, public communication) as a means of control over the whole society. The concept of media imperialism expressed the belief of anticolonial ideologists that the cultural institutions disseminated worldwide by the Western powers (including mass media) continued to be used in the newly independent territories as instruments of control over public opinion and social, economic, and political practices.

The government-serving function of the media pictured by the hegemony theory is the opposite of the watchdog function of the press and the free marketplace of ideas described by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956) in the liberal/libertarian

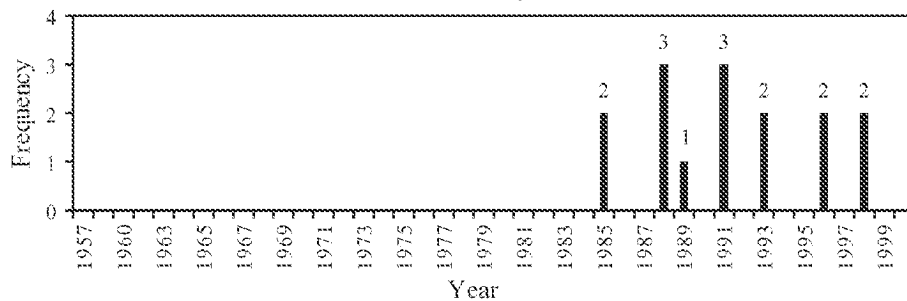


Figure 32. Media hegemony or cultural imperialism: Distribution by year.

model of the press. Frankfurt scholar Marcuse (1965) considered mass audiences incapable of recognizing and resisting the appeals of the system of commercial cultural forces around them. According to Gramsci (1949b), whose prison notebooks were translated and started circulating internationally in 1971, cultural hegemony is contingent on acceptance, and the competition among elites for the definition of reality is an ongoing process. Major areas of media hegemony research are socialization of journalists to the dominant ideology, pro status quo news coverage, and supportive coverage for the journalist's country versus negative coverage of foreign countries (Altheide, 1985).

First proposed in 1971, the theory made it into our sample in 1985 and was employed 15 times between then and 1999 (Figure 32). *JOC* was the primary source of media hegemony citations (73.33%), with *JOBEM* contributing the other 26.67%. The dominant use of media hegemony was mere reference (66.67%). The theory was also utilized as a framework for research (20%). One article compared it with other theories (6.67%), and another critiqued it.

Agenda setting (1972). Research on agenda setting was initiated by McCombs and Shaw (1972), who conducted longitudinal analysis of media content to determine the influence of the political agenda (presidential speech) on the media agenda. Subsequent agenda-setting research looked at who sets whose agenda (e.g., Shaw & McCombs, 1977; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991), the time lag of issue migration from one arena to another (e.g., Stone & McCombs, 1981), factors that are important in each arena (e.g., Mannheim, 1987; Weaver, 1977), and techniques of agenda building (e.g., Funkhouser, 1973).

Agenda setting is tied for first place in usage in our sample, being employed 61 times, despite its relatively late arrival on the scene. As can be seen in Figure 33, the theory made it into our sample in 1973 and was utilized heavily throughout the 20th century, peaking in 1993. *JMCQ* was the host of most agenda-setting research (72.13% of all articles in our sample that mentioned this theory), followed by *JOC* (19.67%) and *JOBEM* (8.20%). Like cultivation theory, agenda setting was utilized in many different ways by mass communication investigators. Most articles merely referenced it (45.90%) or used it as a framework for research (34.42%). Four articles (6.56%) supported it, 3 (4.92%) expanded this theory, 2

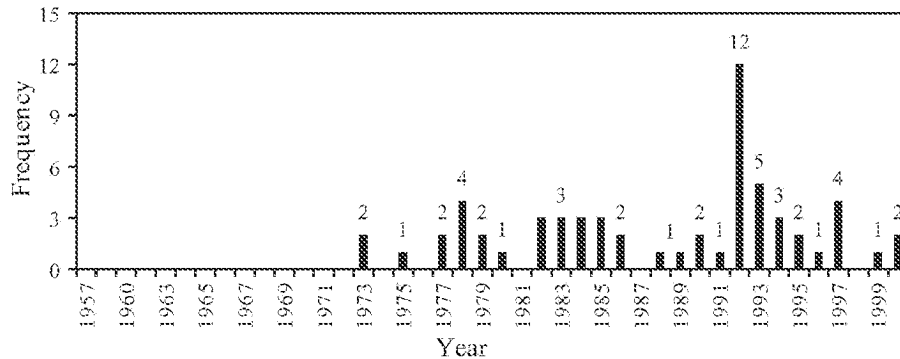


Figure 33. Agenda setting: Distribution by year.

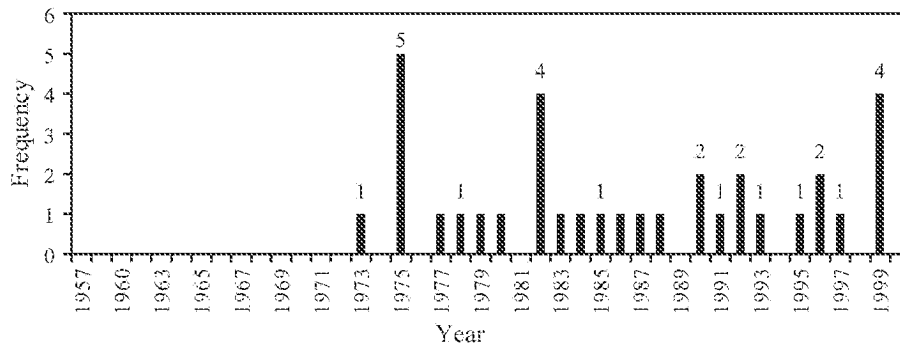


Figure 34: Social learning: Distribution by year.

(3.28%) critiqued it, 1 (1.64%) tested it, 1 compared it to other theories, and another integrated agenda setting with other theories.

Social learning (1973). Bandura's (1973) research on children's learning of aggressive behavior led him to develop a theory of social learning from vicarious experience. Observational learning as described by Bandura has become a salient theory in media effects literature because of the skewed distribution of behaviors shown in news and entertainment media, where undesirable behaviors are considered newsworthy and are attractive for their dramatic qualities. Younger children are expected to be more susceptible to learning undesirable behaviors from the media because of their insufficiently developed cause-effect reasoning, moral framework, and discrimination between fiction and reality.

Social learning is tied with Marxism for the fourth most frequently utilized theory in our sample of mass communication research. First published in 1973, social learning theory made it into our sample in 1973 and was cited 34 times. Its modal usage year was 1975, suggesting a "jack rabbit start." Social learning continued to be utilized regularly throughout the remainder of the 20th century (Figure

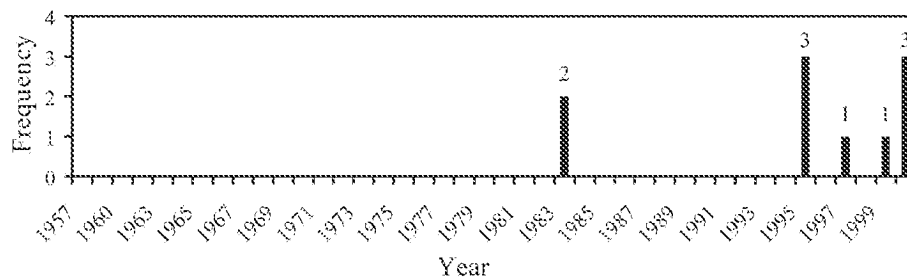


Figure 35. Framing theory: Distribution by year.

34). Although all three journals published social learning research, *JOBEM* was the leader in this regard as it included 47.06% of all articles in our sample that mentioned this theory. *JOC* contributed 32.35%, and *JMCQ* provided 20.59%. Unlike most of the other theories we examined, half of the utilization of social learning theory was as a framework for research. This theory was also utilized in theory construction: Two articles (5.88%) critiqued it, 2 compared it with other theories, 1 article (2.94%) tested it, and another integrated social learning with other theories.

Framing theory (1974). The general assumption of framing theory is that context informs our action, behavior, and understanding. According to Erving Goffman (1974), frames are definitions of a situation that include organization and subjective elements. In other words, frames are cognitive structures that guide both the perception and the representation of reality. Gitlin (1980) defined frames as “principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters” (p. 6). In media studies, it has become commonplace to treat the choice of frames as a more or less deliberate process. According to Entman (1993), framing is selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient, “in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (p. 52). Tankard (2001) suggested that journalists at times utilize frames to deceive their audiences. Reese (2001) argued that framing always implies an active process, and he recommended that analysts “should ask how much ‘framing’ is going on” (p. 13). As a research methodology, frame analysis examines the selection of certain aspects of an issue, images, stereotypes, messengers, metaphors, and so on, used to cue specific responses.

Although framing theory was developed in 1974, it first made it into our mass communication sample in 1983. Framing theory was utilized 10 times in our sample of articles, mostly in the late 1990s (Figure 35). *JOC* published 9 of the 10 framing articles in our sample, and *JMCQ* contributed 1. The usage pattern in the service of framing theory was diverse, with 4 articles (40%) using it as a framework for research, 2 studies (20%) integrating it with other theories, 1 article praising it, another expanding it, and only 2 articles using it as mere reference.

Media dependency (1976). Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur’s (1976) functionalist theory of media dependency posited that unpredictable change in the social environ-

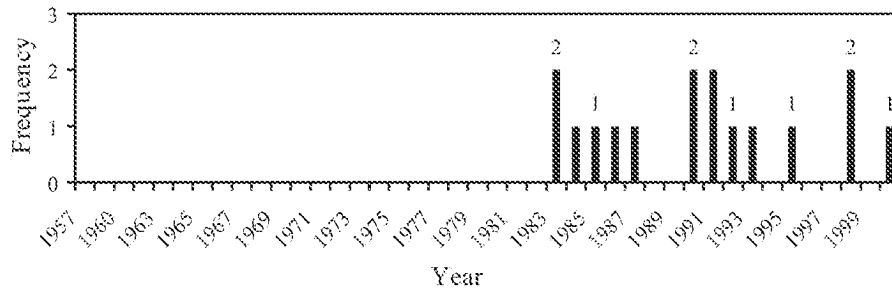


Figure 36. Media dependency: Distribution by year.

ment involving matters that are highly relevant and important to an individual or a population cause anxiety and dependency on the media for information, which is needed to decrease uncertainty.

The “new kid on the block” in our list of the 26 most popular theories in our mass communication sample, media dependency was utilized rather extensively ($n = 16$) from the mid-80s on (Figure 36), with usage rather evenly divided across the three journals in our sample: 7 articles (43.75%) in *JOC*, 5 (31.25%) in *JMCQ*, and 4 (25%) in *JOBEM*. The primary use of media dependency theory was as mere reference (56.25%), but it also served as a conceptual framework for research (25%). One article supported this theory, 1 compared it with other theories, and another made integrative use of media dependency.

Comparisons to Findings From Comparable Research

Another article has also examined the theories most frequently employed in mass communication research. Kamhawi and Weaver (2003) examined mass communication research trends between 1980 and 1999 and included an assessment of the most frequently employed theories, among several other variables of interest. Direct comparisons between findings are not valid, because Kamhawi and Weaver employed a different time frame, a different sample of journals (although their journal sample included *JOC*, *JMCQ*, and *JOBEM*, they also assessed articles from seven other communication journals), and they collapsed several theories into more molar categories (e.g., information processing, media construction of social reality, theories of public opinion). However, a number of similarities between the findings of the two investigations add credence to the findings of both investigations. For example, Kamhawi and Weaver found some theory employed in 30.5% of the mass communication studies they examined (versus 31.9% in the present investigation). Moreover, if we combine the 17 different information-processing theories and models we examined (e.g., elaboration likelihood model, heuristic-systematic model, accessibility theory, cue-lean processing) into a composite information-processing category, 12.1% of the theories we found were information-processing theories or models versus 16% for Kamhawi and Weaver. Furthermore, whereas uses and gratifications made up 10.6% of the theories we coded, that theoretical perspective accounted for 12% of Kamhawi and Weaver’s mass

communication theories. In other words, the findings from the two investigations are quite similar, although the present investigation provides a much more detailed analysis.

Mass Communication Theory at the Portals of the 21st Century

Our examination of mass communication theory in the latter half of the 20th century involved systematically examining one randomly sampled issue per year from each of the three oldest mainstream mass communication journals. Because the 21st century is so young, we were able to examine every article from every issue of not only the three journals from the 20th-century sample, but from three additional journals as well. We added to the list *Communication Research*, *Mass Communication & Society*, and *Media Psychology*. We included *Communication Research* (published bimonthly) because it has consistently published high-quality, theoretically oriented research (its editorial goal, published in every issue, includes the caveat that in order to qualify for publication, “research should . . . be theoretically driven with results that inform theory”), and because throughout its 31 volumes it has provided considerable emphasis on mass communication theory. We included *Mass Communication & Society* because it is a new journal (founded in 1997) devoted exclusively to mass communication research and includes as its editorial policy a statement that it “publishes original research and scholarship on mass communication processes and effects with the goal of contributing to a theoretical base of knowledge.” *Media Psychology* (founded in 1999) is essentially a 21st-century journal that “publishes theoretically oriented empirical research” on “media uses, processes, and effects,” according to its editorial statement, and it routinely publishes “theoretical integration essays.”

The procedures for the 21st-century content analysis of mass communication theory in these six journals were virtually identical to those utilized in the 20th-century content analysis, except that we coded only for theories per se in the current sample, not schools of thought, paradigm references, and the like. In the 21st-century sample (January 1, 2001, to May 1, 2004), 295 uses of 106 different theories were found in the mass communication articles examined. We compared theory use in the three journals examined during the 20th century (*JMCQ*, *JOC*, *JOBEM*) versus theory use in the other three journals in the 21st century sample, and some striking differences emerged. Table 1 presents the theories receiving 10 or more uses in all six journals ($n = 8$) and compares these findings to the frequency of use of the eight most frequently utilized theories in *JMCQ*, *JOC*, and *JOBEM* combined (those journals utilized in our 20th-century sample) versus *CR*, *MC&S*, and *MP* combined (the newcomers).

First, if we compare the most frequently utilized theories in mass communication in the 21st century to date with those from our 20th-century sample (cf. Figure 9), we find substantial differences. Framing, the most utilized mass communication theory of the present era, barely made the 20th-century list. Although the usage of agenda setting and cultivation remains strong at the beginning of the 21st century, uses and gratifications appears to be receiving somewhat diminish-

Table 1. The Eight Most Popular Theories in the 21st Century: Frequency of Use

Most frequently used theories in all 6 journals combined	<i>n</i>	Most frequently used theories in JMCQ, JOC, & JOBEM	<i>n</i>	Most frequently used theories in CR, MC&S, & MP	<i>n</i>
Framing	21	Framing	17	Third-person effects	9
Agenda setting	16	Agenda setting	11	Mediation	8
Cultivation	16	Cultivation	9	Cultivation	7
Mediation models/theories	16	Mediation	8	Social cognitive/learning	7
Third-person effects	16	Third-person effects	7	Uses and gratifications	7
Uses and gratifications	12	Uses and gratifications	5	Selective exposure	6
Social cognitive/learning	11	Selective exposure	4	Agenda setting	5
Selective exposure	10	Social cognitive/learning	4	Disposition	5

ing usage as a theoretical perspective. Social cognitive/social learning theory seems to be maintaining its steady albeit moderate usage, although most current usage is directed to the latter iteration of that theory (i.e., social cognitive). Moreover, three theories that did not make the top 26 list in the previous sample have come on strong of late: mediation models/theories, third-person (and first-person) effects, and selective exposure theory. Obviously, many theories that were in the top 26 list in the 20th century are much less frequently employed in contemporary mass communication theory; several were not even mentioned in the current sample.

When we split the journal sample into two clusters—*JMCQ*, *JOC*, and *JOBEM* versus *CR*, *MC&S*, and *MP*—other striking findings emerge. Framing, the top-rated 21st-century mass communication theory overall, is largely the purview of the traditional “Big 3” serial publications, where it is the most frequently utilized theory, but it does not even make the top 8 list among the newcomers to the current sample. Agenda setting, which is tied for second overall, is also second among the standard bearers, but is tied for last place in the three journals added to the current sample. Third-person effects is the most commonly utilized 21st-century theory in the new-journal list but is in fifth place in the traditional journals. Whereas selective exposure theory is utilized fairly evenly between journal clusters, disposition theory was examined primarily in the three more recent journals. Interestingly, selective exposure, uses and gratifications, and disposition theory, which are utilized more often in entertainment theory than in media effects research, all received heavier usage in the newer set of journals than in the traditional “Big 3” journals.

In examining the 20th-century mass communication theories in *JMCQ*, *JOC*, and *JOBEM*, we had considered the uses to which the theories were put. We found that most usage was in mere reference (47%), with 26% of the usage as a framework for the empirical research, 13% in critical analysis (critique = 4%, praise = 1%, compare = 8%), and 13% in the foundational practices of theory construc-

Table 2. Theory Use in the 21st Century

Theory usage	All journals combined	<i>JMCQ, JOC, JOBEM</i>	<i>CR, MC&S, MP</i>
Theory construction	18%	14%	22%
Critique	14%	11%	17%
Framework	23%	27%	19%
Mere reference	45%	48%	42%

tion (propose = 3%, test = 3%, support = 3%, expand = 2%, integrate = 2%). Table 2 presents the results when the 21st-century data are subjected to the same analysis, with the results presented for all six journals combined as well as broken down by the same two journal clusters previously employed. As can be seen from examining this table, the contemporary profile of *JMCQ*, *JOC*, and *JOBEM* has not varied much from their 20th-century profile, at least not yet. In contrast, the combination of *CR*, *MC&S*, and *MP* includes articles that engage more typically in theory construction and critique than in the traditional peer periodicals, with a concomitant decrease in using theory as a framework for empirical research and in mere reference (although the latter category remains relatively high in all of the journals). Overall, in comparing the findings from all six journals combined with those from the 20th-century sample, it appears that somewhat more emphasis is being given to good old solid theory construction at the cusp of the new era. Here's hoping that the best is yet to be.

Obviously, our more microscopic analysis of the state of the art in mass communication theory during the fledgling 21st century is subject to just the sorts of problems that those Weather Channel field reporters we introduced earlier have to be concerned about. If in 50 years or so, one were to examine 50 years' worth of 21st-century research findings, as we did for the 20th century, we might be able to make a genuine forecast. As is, all we can say is that the trend in barometric pressures and jet stream patterns looks promising for better mass communication theory during the 21st century than they were during the 20th century, when mass communication research came of age.

However, one caveat is in order. None of the more popular mass communication theories of the 21st century seem particularly well suited to explain, predict, or even accommodate the remarkable changes that are occurring in our media institutions, message systems, and audience—those changes we chronicled in the second paragraph of this article. If this problem is not rectified, stormy weather could well be on the horizon.

References

- Adorno, T., & Horkheimer, M. (1944). *The dialectic of enlightenment*. New York: Continuum.
- Altheide, D. L. (1985). *Media power*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

- Asch, S. (1955, November). Opinions and social pressure. *Scientific American*, 193, 31–35.
- Asch, S. (1956). Studies of independence and conformity: I. A minority of one against a unanimous majority. *Psychological Monographs*, 70(9), 1–70.
- Ball-Rokeach, S. J., & DeFleur, M. L. (1976). A dependency model of mass media effects. *Communication Research*, 3, 3–21.
- Bandura, A. (1973). *Aggression: A social learning analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bem, D. J. (1972). Self-perception theory. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 6, pp. 1–62). New York: Academic Press.
- Berelson, B. (1965). What “missing the newspaper” means. In W. Schramm (Ed.), *The process and effects of mass communication* (pp. 36–47). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Bettinger, R. (1996). Neofunctionalism. In D. Levinson & M. Ember (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of cultural anthropology* (pp. 851–853). New York: Holt.
- Black, J., Bryant, J., & Thompson, S. (1998). *Introduction to media communication* (5th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bryant, J., & Bryant, J. A. (Eds.). (2001). *Television and the American family* (2nd ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Chandler, D. (1998). *The construction of reality in TV news programmes*. Retrieved May, 11, 2004, from <http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Modules/TF33120/news.html>
- Cohen, S., & Young, J. (Eds.). (1981). *The manufacture of news: Social problems, deviance and the mass media*. London: Constable.
- Danielson, W. A. (1956). Eisenhower’s February decision. A study of news impact. *Journalism Quarterly*, 33, 433–441.
- DeFleur, M. L. (1988). Diffusing information. *Society*, 25, 72–81.
- DeFleur, M. L. (1998). Where have all the milestones gone? The decline of significant research on the process and effects of mass communication. *Mass Communication & Society*, 1, 85–98.
- Dewey, J. (1909). *How we think*. Boston: Heath.
- Dewey, J. (1910). *The influence of Darwin on philosophy and other contemporary essays*. New York: Smith.
- Dewey, J. (1922). *Human nature and conduct: An introduction to social psychology*. New York: Holt.
- Dewey, J. (1925). *Experience and nature*. Chicago: Open Court.
- Dewey, J. (1930). *Individualism, old and new*. New York: Minton, Balch.
- Dewey, J. (1938b). *Logic: The theory of inquiry*. New York: Holt.
- Dewey, J., Moore, A. W., Brown, H. C., Mead, G. H., Bode, B. H., Stuart, H. W., et al. (1917). *Creative intelligence: Essays in the pragmatic attitude*. New York: Holt.
- Diaz, S., & Aratani, L. (2003, May 22). Redefining life at home. *San Jose Mercury News*, p. 15TE.
- Donohew, R. L., Nair, M., & Finn, S. (1984). Automaticity, arousal, and information exposure. In R. N. Bostrom (Ed.), *Communication Yearbook*, 8 (pp. 267–284). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Durkheim, E. (1915). *La sociologie*. Paris: Larousse.
- Engels, F. (1884). *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats*

- [The origins of the family, private property and the state]. Hottingen-Zürich, Switzerland: Schweizerische Genossenschaftsbuchdruckerei.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43(4), 51–58.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1940). *The Nuer*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1951). *Social anthropology*. London: Routledge.
- Festinger, L. (1957). *A theory of cognitive dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Firth, R. W. (1951). *Elements of social organization*. London: Watts.
- Fortes, M. (1949). *Social structure: Studies presented to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon.
- Freud, S. (1910). *Über Psychoanalyse: Fünf Vorlesungen, gehalten zur 20 jährigen Gründungsfeier der Clark University in Worcester, Mass., September 1909*. Wien, Germany: Deuticke.
- Freud, S. (1914). *Zur Geschichte der psychoanalytischen Bewegung*. Leipzig, Germany: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag.
- Freud, S. (1917a). *Eine Kindheitserinnerung aus "Dichtung und Wahrheit"*. Vienna, Austria: [s.n.].
- Freud, S. (1917b). *Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse*. Leipzig, Germany: Heller.
- Freud, S. (1924a). *Zur Geschichte der psychoanalytischen Bewegung*. Leipzig, Germany: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag.
- Freud, S. (1924b). *Zur Technik der Psychoanalyse und zur Metapsychologie*. Vienna, Austria: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag.
- Freud, S. (1926). *Studien zur Psychoanalyse der Neurosen: aus den Jahren 1913–1925*. Wien, Germany: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag.
- Funkhouser, G. R. (1973). Trends in media coverage of the issues of the '60s. *Journalism Quarterly*, 50, 533–538.
- Galtung, J. (1971). A structural theory of imperialism. *Journal of Peace Research*, 8(2), 81–117.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Gerbner, G. (1969). Toward "cultural indicators": The analysis of mass mediated message systems. *AV Communication Review*, 17(2), 137–148.
- Gerbner, G., & Gross, L. P. (1976). Living with television: The violence profile. *Journal of Communication*, 26(2), 172–199.
- Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorielli, N. (1980). The "mainstreaming" of America: Violence profile no. 11. *Journal of Communication*, 30(4), 10–29.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Goffman, E. (1958). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Edinburgh, UK: University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre.
- Gramsci, A. (1949a). *Gli intellettuali e l'organizzazione della cultura*. [The intellectuals and the organization of culture]. Torino, Italy: Einaudi.
- Gramsci, A. (1949b). *Lettere dal carcere* [Prison notebooks]. Torino, Italy: Einaudi.
- Hahn, H., Neurath, O., & Carnap, R. (1929). *Wissenschaftliche Weltanschauung: Der Wiener Kreis* [A scientific world-view: The Vienna Circle]. [S.l.: s.n.].

- Hall, S. (1964). *The popular arts*. Boston: Beacon.
- Hall, S. (1968). *The hippies: An American moment*. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.
- Hall, S. (1972). *External influences on broadcasting: The external-internal dialectic in broadcasting, television's double-bind*. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.
- Hall, S. (1975). *Resistance through rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain*. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.
- Hall, S. (1980). *Culture, media, language: Working papers in cultural studies, 1972–79*. London: Hutchinson.
- Hall, S. (1992). *Understanding modern societies: An introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Hall, S. (1995). *Modernity: An introduction to modern societies*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Hall, S. (1996). *Stuart Hall: Critical dialogues in cultural studies*. London: Routledge.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Harvey, J. H., Orbuch, T. L., & Weber, A. L. (Eds.). (1992). *Attributions, accounts, and close relationships*. New York: Springer.
- Heider, F. (1944). Social perception and phenomenal causality. *Psychological Review*, 51, 358–374.
- Heider, F. (1946). Attitudes and cognitive organization. *Journal of Psychology*, 21, 107–112.
- Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York: Wiley.
- Herzog, H. (1944). Motivations and gratifications of daily serial listeners. In W. Schramm (Ed.), *The process and effects of mass communication* (pp. 50–55). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Hoggart, R. (1969). *Contemporary cultural studies: An approach to the study of literature and society*. Birmingham, UK: Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Hoggart, R. (1972). *On culture and communication*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hoggart, R. (1978). *The mass media: A new colonialism?* London: Standard Telephones & Cables.
- Hoggart, R. (1982). *The future of broadcasting: Essays on authority, style, and choice*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Hoggart, R. (1995a). *The tyranny of relativism: Culture and politics in contemporary English society*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Hoggart, R. (1995b). *The way we live now*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- Hoggart, R. (2003). *Everyday language and everyday life*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Hoggart, R. (2004). *Mass media in a mass society: Myth and reality*. New York: Continuum.
- Kamhawi, R., & Weaver, D. (2003). Mass communication research trends from 1980 to 1999. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 80, 7–27.
- Katz, E. (1957). The two-step flow of communication: An up-to-date report of an hypothesis. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 21, 61–78.
- Katz, E., Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1974). Utilization of mass communication by the individual. In J. G. Blumler & M. Gurevitch (Eds.), *The uses of mass communications: Current perspectives on gratifications research* (pp. 19–32). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Katz, E., Gurevitch, M., & Haas, H. (1973). On the use of the mass media for important things. *American Sociological Review*, 38, 164–181.

- Katz, E., & Lazarsfeld, P. F. (1955). *Personal influence: The part played by people in the flow of mass communications*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Kelley, H. H. (1967). Attribution theory in social psychology. In D. Levine (Ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation* (Vol. 15, pp. 192–238). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Kubey, R., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). *Television and the quality of life: How viewing shapes everyday experience*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Lasswell, H. D. (1948). The structure and function of communication in society. In L. Bryson (Ed.), *The communication of ideas* (pp. 37–51). New York: Institute of Religious and Social Studies.
- Lasswell, H. D. (1960). The structure and function of communication in society. In W. Schramm (Ed.), *Mass communication* (pp. 117–130). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1940). *Erie County study*. Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1944). *The people's choice: How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*. New York: Duell, Sloan, & Pearce.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Merton, R. K. (1942). *The psychological analysis of propaganda (re-revised)*. New York: [s.n.].
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Merton, R. K. (1950). *Proposal to establish an institute for training in social research*. New York: Bureau of Applied Social research, Columbia University.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Stanton, F. N. (Eds.). (1942). *Radio research, 1941*. New York: Duell, Sloan, & Pearce.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Stanton, F. N. (Eds.). (1944). *Radio research, 1942–1943*. New York: Duell, Sloan, & Pearce.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Stanton, F. N. (Eds.). (1949). *Radio research, 1947–1948*. New York: Harper.
- Lerner, D. (1958). *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the Middle East*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Levins, H. (1997). Time of change and challenge (online newspapers). *Editor & Publisher*, 130(1), 58.
- Li, X. (1998). Web design and graphic use of three U.S. newspapers. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 75, 353–365.
- Manheim, J. B. (1987). A model of agenda dynamics. In M. L. McLaughlin (Ed.), *Communication Yearbook*, 10 (pp. 499–516). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Marcuse, H. (1941). *Reason and revolution: Hegel and the rise of social theory*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Marcuse, H. (1965). *Kultur und Gesellschaft* [Culture and society]. Frankfurt, Germany: Suhrkamp.
- Marcuse, H. (1969a). *Versuch über die Befreiung* [An essay on liberation]. Frankfurt, Germany: Suhrkamp.
- Marcuse, H. (1969b). *Zur Situation der Neuen Linken* [The situation of the New Left]. Frankfurt, Germany: Nova.
- Marx, K. (1867). *Das Kapital* [The capital]. Hamburg, Germany: Meissner.
- Marx, K. (1901). *A-propos de unité: Letter sur le programme de Gotha* [On unity: Letter about the Gotha program]. Paris: Jaques.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1848). *Manifest der Kommunistischen partei veroffentlich in Februar 1848* [Manifest of the communist party issued in February 1848]. London: Burghard.
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36, 176–187.

- McChesney, R. W. (2004). *The problem of the media: U.S. communication politics in the 21st century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- McLuhan, M. (1964). *Understanding media: The extensions of man*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- McQuail, D., Blumler, J. G., & Brown, J. R. (1972). The television audience: A revised perspective. In D. McQuail (Ed.), *Sociology of mass communications* (pp. 135–165). Middlesex, UK: Penguin.
- Mead, G. H., & Morris, C. W. (1934). *Mind, self & society from the standpoint of a social behaviorist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mead, G. H., & Morris, C. W. (1938). *The philosophy of the act*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Merton, R. K. (1937). *The sociology of knowledge*. Bruges, Belgium: Sainte Catherine Press.
- Merton, R. K. (1949). *Social theory and social structure: Toward the codification of theory and research*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Merton, R. K. (1960). *The bearing of empirical research upon the development of social theory*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Merton, R. K., & Lazarsfeld, P. F. (1943). *Time readership and the influence of structure of Dover, N.J.: An exploratory study*. New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University.
- Merton, R. K., Lowenthal, M. F., & Curtis, A. (1946). *Mass persuasion: The social psychology of a war bond drive*. New York: Harper.
- Moore, A. W. (1910). *Pragmatism and its critics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Moore, A. W. (1917). *Creative intelligence: Essays in pragmatic attitude*. New York: Holt.
- Morris, C. W. (1937). *Logical positivism, pragmatism, and scientific empiricism*. Paris: Hermann.
- Morris, C. W. (1938). *Foundations of the theory of signs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Morris, C. W. (1946). *Signs, language, and behavior*. New York: Braziller.
- Newcomb, T. M. (1953). An approach to the study of communication acts. *Psychological Review*, 60, 393–404.
- Osgood, C. E. (Ed.). (1954, October). Psycholinguistics: A survey of theory and research problems. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 4, Morton Prince Memorial Supplement.
- Park, R. E. (1915). The city: Suggestions for the investigation of human behavior in the urban environment. *American Journal of Sociology*, 20, 577–612.
- Peace, M. (2004). *The construction of reality in television news*. Retrieved May, 11, 2004, from <http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Students/mbp9701.html>.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1979). The ultimate attribution error: Extending Allport's cognitive analysis of prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 5, 461–476.
- Piaget, J. (1921). Une forme verbale de la comparaison chez l'enfant [A verbal form of the child's comparison]. *Archives de Psychologie*, 18, 141–172.
- Piaget, J. (1923). *Le langage et la pansee chez l'enfant* [The child's language and thinking]. Neuchatel, France: Delachaux & Niestle.
- Piaget, J. (1924). *Le jugement et le raisonnement chez l'enfant, avec la collaboration de Mlles E. Cartalis, E. Escher, U. Hanbart, L. Hahnloser, O. Matthes, S. Perret et M. Roud* [The child's judgment and reasoning, with the collaboration of...]. Neuchatel, France: Delachaux & Niestle.
- Piaget, J. (1926). *La representation du monde chez l'enfant* [The child's conception of the world]. Paris: Alcan.
- Piaget, J. (1927). *La causalite physique chez l'enfant, avec le concours de dix-sept collaborateurs* [The

- child's conception of physical causality, with the participation of seventeen collaborators]. Paris: Alcan.
- Piaget, J. (1950). *Introduction a l'epistemologie genetique* [Introduction to genetic epistemology]. Paris: Presse Universitaires de France.
- Plotnikoff, D. (2003, May 18). Growing up wired. *San Jose Mercury News*, p. 1TE.
- Reese, S. D. (2001). Prologue: Framing public life: A bridging model for media research. In S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy, & A. E. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (pp. 7–31). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Rideout, V. J., Foehr, U. G., Roberts, D. F., & Brodie, M. (1999). *Kids & media @ the new millennium*. Menlo Park, CA: Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation.
- Riley, M. W., & Riley, J. W., Jr. (1951). A sociological approach to communication research. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15, 445–460.
- Rogers, E. M. (1962). *Diffusion of innovations*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.
- Rosengren, K. E. (1987). Conclusion: The comparative study of news diffusion. *European Journal of Communication*, 2, 227–255.
- Ross, L. D. (1977). The intuitive psychologist and his shortcomings: Distortions in the attribution process. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 10, pp. 173–220). New York: Academic Press.
- Rubin, A. M. (2002). The uses-and-gratifications perspective of media effects. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (2nd ed., pp. 525–548). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Ryan, B., & Gross, N. (1943). The diffusion of hybrid seed corn in two Iowa communities. *Rural Sociology*, 8, 15–24.
- Said, E. W. (1993). *Culture and imperialism*. New York: Knopf.
- Sallach, D. L. (1974). Class domination and ideological hegemony. *Sociological Quarterly*, 15, 38–50.
- Shannon, C., & Weaver, W. (1949). *The mathematical theory of communication*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Shaw, D. L., & McCombs, M. E. (Eds.). (1977). *The emergence of American political issues: The agenda setting function of the press*. St. Paul, MN: West.
- Sherry, J. L. (2004). Media effects theory and the nature/nurture debate: A historical overview and directions for future research. *Media Psychology*, 6, 83–109.
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1991). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content*. New York: Longman.
- Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1956). *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Skinner, B. F. (1953). *Science and human behavior*. New York: Macmillan.
- Skinner, B. F. (1959). *Science and behavior: An introductory course*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Skinner, B. F. (1974). *About behaviorism*. New York: Knopf.
- Stone, G. C., & McCombs, M. E. (1981). Tracing the time lag in agenda setting. *Journalism Quarterly*, 58, 51–55.
- Suchman, E. (1942). Invitation to music. In P. F. Lazarsfeld & F. N. Stanton (Eds.), *Radio research, 1941* (pp. 140–188). New York: Duell, Sloan, & Pearce.

- Stempel, G. H., III (1989). Content analysis. In G. H. Stempel, III, & B. H. Westley (Eds.), *Research methods in mass communication* (2nd ed., pp. 124–135). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Tankard, J. W., Jr. (2001). The empirical approach to the study of media framing. In S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy, & A. E. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (pp. 95–106). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Tichenor, P. J., Donohue, G. A., & Olien, C. N. (1970). Mass media flow and differential growth in knowledge. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 34, 159–170.
- Watson, J. B. (1913). Psychology as the behaviorist views it. *Psychological Review*, 20, 158–177.
- Watson, J. B. (1914). *Behavior: A textbook of comparative psychology*. New York: Holt.
- Watson, J. B. (1916). The place of the conditioned-reflex in psychology. *Psychological Review*, 23, 89–116.
- Watson, J. B. (1920). Is thinking merely the action of language mechanisms? *British Journal of Psychology*, 11, 87–104.
- Watson, J. B. (1924). What is behaviorism? The old and new psychology contrasted. In J. B. Watson (Ed.), *Behaviorism* (pp. 3–41). New York: People's Institute.
- Watson, J. B., & McDougall, W. (1928). *The battle of behaviorism*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner.
- Weaver, D. H. (1977). Political issues and voter need for orientation. In D. L. Shaw & M. E. McCombs (Eds.), *The emergence of American political issues: The agenda setting function of the press* (pp. 107–119). St. Paul, MN: West.
- Weber, M. (1904). *Die "Objektivität" sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr (Siebeck).
- Weber, M. (1906). *Kritische Studien auf dem Gebiet der kulturwissenschaftlichen Logik*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr (Siebeck).
- Wiener, N. (1948). *Cybernetics; or, control and communication in the animal and the machine*. New York: Wiley.
- Williams, R. (1961). *The long revolution*. London: Hogarth.
- Williams, R. (1966). *Culture and society, 1780–1950*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Williams, R. (1975). *Television: Technology and cultural form*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Williams, R. (1976). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, R. (1980). *Problems in materialism and culture: Selected essays*. London: Verso.
- Williams, R. (1981). *Culture*. London: Fontana.
- Williams, R. (1989). *Resources of hope: Culture, democracy, socialism*. London: Verso.
- Wittgenstein, L. (1922). *Tractatus logico-philosophicus*. London: Routledge.
- Wolfe, K. M., & Fiske, M. (1949). The children talk about comics. In P. F. Lazarsfeld & F. N. Stanton (Eds.), *Communication research, 1948–1949* (pp. 3–50). New York: Harper.
- Wright, C. R. (1960). Functional analysis of mass communication. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 24, 605–620.